EVERY WEEK SINCE 1865

THE Nation

DECEMBER 10, 1955
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AMERICAN LABOR TODAY

Prospect and Retrospect

A Special Issue on the Significance of the A. F. of L. and C. I. O. Merger and the Political, Social and Economic Problems Now Facing the New Federation

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TO THE *Nation*

CONGRATULATIONS

On the Unrelenting
Vigilance for Civil
Rights and Real Crusade
for Political Freedom

Yours Was the Voice
in the Wilderness
When Timid Souls
Feared to Speak

CARRY ON

Retail Clerks Union
Local 770 A.F.L.
Hollywood
California

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NEW YORK, SATURDAY, DECEMBER 10, 1955
VOLUME 181, NUMBER 24

THE Nation
EVERY WEEK SINCE 1865

American Labor Today . . *by the Editors*

THE A. F. of L.-C. I. O. merger was scheduled to take place at a moment of unique importance to American labor. The decade drawing to a close—the decade of the cold-war years—witnessed great changes in the relation of the labor movement to the society of which it is a part. This was the decade in which most Americans, including many labor leaders, lived in anxious anticipation of the "bust" which did not come. During the decade, American industry experienced a phenomenal increase both in capacity and actual production. The decade that began with the explosion of a bomb over Hiroshima ends with atomic energy producing electricity. Automation, urgent social reality today, was an unknown term in 1945. Goals which seemed utopian a decade ago have been achieved, and are today accepted as ordinary. Henry Wallace's talk of 60,000,000 jobs can no longer be dismissed as "globaloney."

In this extraordinary decade, the economy of the South has been transformed. When Operation Dixie was projected, few people in or out of the labor movement were talking about integrated schools. The period, too, has witnessed the rise of a strong national civil-rights movement. Since 1945 revolution has swept China. India has achieved its independence. Africa now stirs to new currents of revolt. "A revolution of rising expectations" has engulfed the so-called underdeveloped areas. A U. N. has come into being in which colonial powers are hard-pressed to hold their own against a new anti-colonial bloc. Nearly ten years of cold war finds Europe reconstructed, the Middle East struggling to enter the modern world, Israel in being, and the U. S. S. R. and U. S. A. engaged in a global competition in peaceful coexistence. But as the decade ends, the possibility of a third world war fought with nuclear weapons still casts a long shadow across the world.

How has American labor fared during this decade? Has it kept abreast of the major changes? Numerically it has held its own; but its achievements, to point up the fallacy in Mr. Stevenson's phrase, have been both moderate *and* mediocre. During this decade the role of American labor in relation to government has been reversed. By the time of Roosevelt's death, labor had come to rely heavily on government to safeguard its gains, run interference for its organizational drives, and ward off its enemies. The decade about to tend witnessed the adoption of the Taft-Hartley Act which if not the "slave-labor act" labor orators described, has successfully "contained" labor. The National Labor Relations Board, to which labor once turned for help, is now avoided as a dangerous hazard. "Right-to-work" laws, outlawing the closed shop, are to be found in many states. Laws limiting labor's political activities have appeared in such strong labor states as Wisconsin and Michigan. Ugly nativistic anti-labor movements have been spawned in a dozen states. In nearly every state legislature, as in Congress, labor has been on the defensive. At national level, social progress has been nearly at a standstill for ten years. As might be expected, the political influence of labor has declined. The decline began with the death of Roosevelt; it became precipitous with the advent of Eisenhower. The conclusion must be, therefore, that labor has not only failed to lead or even keep abreast of the vanguard; it has, in a relative sense, lost ground in the last ten years organizationally and politically, if not economically.

THE problem posed by labor's relation to the Eisenhower Administration reflects, to a large degree, basic changes which have taken place in the industrial structure. Today the differences between medium-sized and "giant" business are so great that the giant corporations must be regarded as different structures not merely in degree but in kind. As Peter Shore pointed out recently in the *New Statesman and Nation* (October 8, 1955), "these super companies are not simply a kind of magnified projection of smaller capitalist institutions, but a new form of capitalist organization." Their ability to control prices and profits as well as the absence of risk, the separation of ownership from control, and their almost complete independence of the capital market put them in a class apart. Corporations that began by manufacturing rubber today market many consumer items, such as synthetic yarns, textile products, plastics, and chemicals. The giant corporations have plants scattered across the country, often with different skills, occupations, work environments, and problems. "The management fraternity," as Saul Barkin has pointed out ("Labor and Nation," 1953) "has grown large in the last fifteen years." Management is today highly specialized in relation both to program and policy. But the American labor movement itself has not changed commensurably. To a large extent, the initia-

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tive in collecting bargaining has passed from labor to management. It is also important to note that, as Mr. Barkin points out, "the full challenge of the new era is being thrown up at a time when other and opposing interests are in the political saddle."

Politically, American labor is backward even by comparison with its nearest neighbors. As labor delegates met in New York to end the nineteen-year-old split in the American labor movement, delegates of the 200,000-member Ontario Provincial Federation of Labor, meeting in Toronto, came within a single vote of endorsing the Canadian Commonwealth Federation. Delegates speaking in behalf of the resolution pointed out that as long as labor is politically inactive it would have "to plead for change. Those in Queen's Park are not our friends. We want to go to the front door and not the back. . . . Year after year we pass resolutions that get nowhere. Meanwhile some say the C. C. F. has become a Fabian party. But why? Because we have allowed it to fall into the hands of lawyers and teachers. . . . Right now the politicians in Queen's Park are laughing at us. We will never get anywhere by begging."

It is not enough to say, in extenuation of American labor, that the general temper of the time has been adverse. Unfortunately labor has contributed to the socially-regressive atmosphere of the cold-war years. The "right to organize" does not stand by itself. Individual citizens, by the same token, have the right to assemble for political action, to petition for a redress of grievances, and to organize political parties. With notable and brilliant exceptions, American labor has not fought, these last ten years, for others' liberties.

All this is not to imply that American labor is impotent or reactionary. Its strength is great but it is only a pittance of what it might be, and will be. We do not agree with those who insist on comparing American labor with, say, labor in Great Britain or France. The American labor movement has special characteristics and problems, as well as a special history and setting. American labor, we are told, is orientated toward middle-class status; it is lacking in class consciousness. True perhaps. But the findings of the Wayne University study, "Labor in Detroit," force one to note some qualifications. Labor, according to this study, is "overwhelmingly orientated toward the Democratic Party." Even those workers who have moved into middle-class neighborhoods still voted Democratic in 1952 and 1954, and in much the same proportions as labor in the working-class districts. Not only do workers trust the voting recommendations of labor organizations much more than those of other groups, but they are correspondingly distrustful of recommendations made by business and the press. Stevenson captured 75 per cent of Detroit's labor vote in 1952. The key labor issues of the recent past—the Square D strike in Detroit, Perfect Circle in Indiana, the strikes in the South—indicate that the militancy of labor is far from dead.

What has happened in the last ten or fifteen years is that management has taken the initiative in collective bargaining by simply recognizing, accepting, and increasingly relying upon unions. When labor is organizing, the initiative belongs to it; when the drives to organize abate, management recaptures the initiative. Today industry is vitally dependent on labor; it simply could not function, at its present efficiency, without unions. Therefore to regain the initiative labor must enlarge its social, economic, and political objectives. The advantage is still with labor. The last session of Congress witnessed the operation, if on a limited scale, of the first farmer-labor coalition in years. Labor can, if it will, spearhead the fight for a civil-rights program. It can, if it will, transform American politics. On the local, state, and federal level, labor needs to win the support of farmers, self-employed business men and professional groups, youth, the minorities, the independents, and the eggheads.

THIS SPECIAL issue was projected in consultation with a representative group of American labor spokesmen. These consultants urged us not to build the issue around such themes as the achievements of labor or the issues confronting labor. On the contrary, without exception, they urged us to take a critical look at American labor at this important moment in its history. Labor is not buttered up in the pages that follow. We have aimed at achieving the maximum candor. To this end, we asked the contributors not to sign their articles. All of them are actively identified with the labor movement as editors, research and educational directors, or business agents, and they come from both C. I. O. and A. F. of L. unions.

We liked the idea of taking a candid look at American labor in part because it stands in need of self-appraisal and self-criticism which such an issue might stimulate. *The Nation* has earned the privilege, we feel, of viewing labor with friendly candor and objectivity. During 1955 *The Nation* has run nineteen articles devoted to strikes, attacks against labor, and similar concerns. The reporting covered every major strike of the year; it dealt with textile workers, longshoremen, teamsters, apple pickers, hotel workers,

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white-collar workers, electrical and auto workers, sugar-refinery workers, and employees in the entertainment industry. We take satisfaction in this record. Sharing as we do the misgivings of some of the contributors in this issue about the immediate future for labor, and recognizing with them the problems implicit in the merger, we are nevertheless confident that the conventions of the last week represent a turning point in American labor, the beginning of the end of the organizational, or New Deal, phase in its history.

How Strong Is American Labor?

TO MEASURE the strength of the American labor movement today, a quick backward glance is necessary. Organized labor has registered significant numerical gains since 1933, the year the New Deal began. Even more important, during this period its membership increased more rapidly than the country's total civilian labor force. Thus organized labor has been growing steadily in proportionate as well as in absolute numbers and potentially, at least, represents an increasingly important political and economic factor on the American scene.

A chart drawn from an article, The Growth of American Unions, written by Irving Bernstein and published in *The American Economic Review* for June, 1954, throws light on the statistical side of labor's growth:

Year	Union Membership	Membership as Percent of Civilian Labor Force
1920	5,047,800	12.0%
1930	3,392,800	6.8
1933	2,973,000	5.4
1937	6,334,300	11.7
1945	12,724,700	23.6
1953	17,010,033	26.8

The principal factors which affected these figures were as follows:

The year 1920 marked the peak of post-World War I prosperity. Unemployment was at a minimum, but living costs were soaring. Together these elements provided a strong stimulant to union growth. In that year industrial unionism made impressive if temporary gains.

Beginning with the 1921 depression, union membership began to decline. While for the most part the decade was a prosperous one, the dominant craft-unionism of the A. F. of L. was impotent before the growing power of mass-production industry and the inroads of "technological unemployment"—the forerunner of today's "automation."

The year 1933 marked the low point of the Great Depression and the low point in union membership since 1920. While the year marked the nominal start of the New Deal, Roosevelt's legislative program did not go into high gear until 1934, when the N. R. A. went into operation. The effect on union membership was immediate; the year showed an increase of 600,000 over 1933.

By 1937 union membership, as a percentage of the total civilian labor force in the country, had almost recovered the position it had held seventeen years earlier—around 12 per cent. It should be recalled that 1937 was the year in which the Supreme Court validated the Wagner Labor Relations Act; it also marked the peak of labor's organizing drive in steel, packing, auto, rubber, radio, and other industries which had theretofore stood as citadels of anti-unionism.

By war's end in 1945, labor had doubled both its membership and its percentage of the civilian labor force as compared to 1937. Almost two-thirds of the gains came *after* the United States entered the war. The war years were characterized by a tight labor market, the virtual elimination of collective bargaining on wages (the War Labor Board having taken over the job of wage setting under the "Little Steel formula"), and the voluntary shelving by most unions of the strike weapon. Many seasoned unionists, baptized in the labor battles of the '30s, felt that the non-striking millions who flocked into unions during this period were "too soft"—more often a liability than an asset to labor.

While 1953 showed membership continuing to grow, it is important to note that, in comparison with the spectacular jump achieved between 1937-1945, the eight-year interval 1946-1953 showed a marked decline in *rate* of increase, especially in terms of percentage of total labor force. Indeed, during the three years of the period—1948-1950—there was a virtual standstill in membership and an actual loss in percentage of the labor force covered. This slowdown can be ascribed in part to the 1949 recession, but perhaps in greater measure to the Taft-Hartley Act which became effective in 1947. Membership picked up again with the advent of the Korean war in 1951, the consequent "boom" partially offsetting the adverse effects of Taft-Hartley.

To project our figures beyond the table, it is probable that 1954, with its slight recession, was a year of no gain for labor. And 1955 can have brought the unions no more than a moderate gain of perhaps a million new members.

A FEW comments are in order regarding column 3 of the table (union membership in terms of percentage of the total civilian labor force). As defined by the Bureau of the Census, the country's labor force includes millions not "organizable" into labor unions, such as the self-employed, at least 5,000,000 farmers, and a huge number of persons in salaried managerial capacities. Therefore the unions have done a somewhat better job in organizing than is reflected in column 3 of the table, which is based on official census figures. Even so, on the assumption that the country's "organizables" number about 37,000,000 (a conservative estimate), present total union membership of about 18,000,000 indicates that labor has not yet reached the half-way mark in organizing. It is this fact, combined with the deceleration in growth which has marked the last two years, which provided the incentive for the current merger of the C. I. O. and A. F. of L.

Since there are many small unions and a few big ones—for instance, the Railroad Brotherhoods, the United Mine Workers, and the United Electrical Workers—outside the two federations, the merger is likely to start out with about 16,000,000 members. Apparently the A. F. of L. will bring

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to it about twice as many members as the C. I. O.

But statistics do not tell the whole story of union strength. Militancy, general morale, and the factor of public support are also important. In the New Deal days, when union membership was much smaller than it is today, organized labor nevertheless managed to win battle after legislative battle with management, both at Congressional and state level. In those days management generally, and Big Business in particular, were unsure of themselves as a result of the 1929 crash. Breadlines and foreclosed farms won public support for collective bargaining; both the urban middle class and the country's agricultural population looked upon unions with sympathy. But in the last decade, despite the numerical growth of the labor movement, the legislative victories have been going to management as attested by the number of federal and state anti-union laws passed.

Partly this turn may be ascribed to the securer position in which management now finds itself, due to its own slick public-relations program and as a byproduct of the cold-war psychology. Many of management's former critics and large sections of the middle class have now turned against organized labor, which has been pictured as a threat to national security and the national welfare. This propaganda has had its effect on union members themselves, many of whom have drifted into middle-class attitudes; their leaders and organizations no longer hold their loyalty as they once did.

Partymiller in York Gazette and Daily

Seems out of place

The Red smear has been an important anti-union weapon.

If management has profited from the cold-war psychology, it has also profited by shrewd tactics of its own designed to divide the worker from his union. Many companies seem to shower their workers with "kindness," offering small wage increases and fringe benefits in such a way as to make it appear that it is management's generosity, not union militancy, which is responsible for this manna from heaven. All this is designed to persuade the worker that he is receiving little or no benefit from his union dues, that his union leaders are just "pork choppers" looking for a fast buck rather than for the welfare of the rank and file. Leaders themselves sometimes succumb; an increasing number of them lately seem to have become company spokesmen, quick to accept management's plea of "low profits" in contract negotiations and joining forces with industry in legislative battles whose only outcome can be to injure other sections of labor. Is it really far-sighted of union leadership, for instance, to stand shoulder-to-shoulder with management in urging prohibitive tariffs against the products of "cheap foreign labor"?

THE tendency of companies to give away a little in order to avoid showdown battles with the unions serves another purpose. All veteran labor leaders know that the only tough, militant local is one which has had to stand up under conflicts. These labor battles are not always won by the union, but when they are, the spirit engendered is likely to last.

Added to management manipulations are certain economic pressures which tend to weaken the fibre of American unionism. The factory worker is often so much in hock for his car, house mortgage, and television set that the break in his income involved in strike action comes to him not as an inconvenience but as a seeming catastrophe. Union treasuries, in turn, are called on more and more frequently, in case of a strike, to furnish not only food and rent but also instalment payments to the strikers. Union leaders are well aware that a striker who has had his car repossessed has suffered a real blow to his morale. But how many union treasuries can afford this kind of strain?

Partymiller in York Gazette and Daily

Union targets, as usual

What can unions do to counteract the varied elements which seem to be draining away the lifeblood from the American labor movement? Primarily the job is an educational one. The mass media of communications, manipulated so astutely by management, are also open to labor—though perhaps in smaller measure. These media should be used to impart the facts of economic life to the individual worker—the nature of this country's basically Big Business economy and his own place in it. Few workers recognize the slicker kinds of management propaganda, nor are they in a position to evaluate the economic motives which underlie many political trends. There are alert unions which go into such matters, but even here the educational campaign fails to reach labor's grass roots—the local, the shop, the departmental meeting. This must be done—through discussions and such visual aids as movies and charts—if the educational job being done by management is to be exposed and effectively countered.

Labor unions have failed woefully to uncover the economic motive behind our heavy military expenditures. Workers in defense and allied industries see only that millions of jobs have been created to turn out atomic weapons, planes, tanks, warships, and guns. Some union leaders see the acute dangers of this cold-war boom, but most of them are apparently resigned to do nothing on the ground that it would be "utopian" to expect the Eisenhower Administration to build schools and housing instead of guns. And the truth is that most labor leaders today accept without question the argument that we need to spend thirty billion dollars annually on armaments in order to prevent war.

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Beyond the armament question is the central issue of our time: war or peace. How many union leaders have taken a public stand on the problem? And where they have spoken, what has been their position? Does George Meany's dismissal of "peaceful coexistence" as a Communist trap truly represent labor? And in the imminent C. I. O.-A. F. of L. merger, will it be Mr. Meany's philosophy that prevails, or will the merger safeguard union autonomy sufficiently so as to guarantee that there will be a real examination, by labor's rank and file, of the economics of the cold war?

These questions pose a profound challenge to the current crop of labor leaders. And there are others—the question of discrimination, for instance. Year after year the international unions approve lofty resolutions against discrimination at their annual conventions. Occasionally the resolutions are embodied in union contracts. But until these noble professions of faith are put into execution on a day-in, day-out basis within the unions themselves, the much-publicized program for organizing the South will never make much headway, nor will numerous Northern locals acquire the unity they badly need.

The job of awakening labor to its enormous potential strength is difficult, but by no means unsurmountable. Despite the cold war, the divisive tactics used by management, and the powerful economic pressures which work against militant unionism, there is clear evidence that the worker will fight when the enemy is unmasked. At the Kohler plant in Wisconsin and the Perfect Circle plant in New Castle, Indiana, the U. A. W. has been showing stubborn strength in prolonged strikes. A similar situation exists at the Godchaux Sugar Refining Company near New Orleans and the Colonial Provision Company in Boston, where the United Packinghouse Workers are out. Then there is the bitter conflict for recognition waged by the Hotel and Restaurant Workers in Miami. Where it becomes clear that management is out to kill the union, the workers respond.

It is permissible to hope that the bulk of the American labor movement, about to find a new home under a single roof, will unite in making a reevaluation of the meaning of recent events on the picket line—and, as at New Castle, on the firing line. In practice, this may mean chiefly some soul-searching on the part of union leadership. For there is evidence that, despite everything, the rank and file of American unions is still "sound"—and in many places is ahead of its leadership.

The Merger: Credits and Debits

WHEN the A. F. of L. and C. I. O. consumated their well-advertised merger last week, it also marked the twentieth month of the C. I. O. strike at Kohler. The pickets in front of the plant are filled with buoyant hopes—and gaping questions. Does "unity" mean that all A. F. of L. teamsters will no longer make deliveries in or out of Kohler? Does it mean that A. F. of L. longshoremen will refuse to unload clay for the struck plant, or that A. F. of L. plumbers will refuse to install the company's products? For the Kohler pickets such unity would spell decisive victory, and if this were the substance of the A. F. of L.-C. I. O. wedding it would evoke unlimited enthusiasm down at the grass roots.

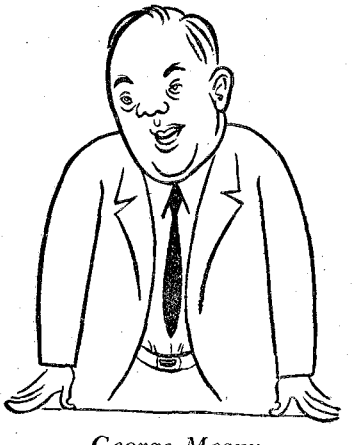
At the moment, however, such unity is merely distant vision. What has taken place is simply a "merger"—or, in the picturesque term made famous by John L. Lewis, an "agglomeration." Put in another way, this is the lowest form of unity possible; in fact, only the first small step. For effective labor unity—the kind that the Kohler pickets pray for—there would have to be at least three additional steps:

1. Unification of rival groups, such as the A. F. of L. electrical workers with C. I. O.'s I. U. E.; A. F. of L. retail clerks with C. I. O. retail and wholesale workers, the two A. F. of L. paper unions with the one in the C. I. O., the airplane division of the C. I. O. auto workers with the airplane division of the A. F. of L. machinists, and many others.

2. A no-raiding pact signed by *all* the affiliates, and a clear definition of jurisdiction.

3. An agreement for mutual help between all international unions, particularly as regards respecting each other's picket lines and joint efforts to organize the unorganized.

Take these three steps and you have real labor unity. You also have a veritable revolution that would change the character not only of American labor but of American society as well. It would assure organized labor of twenty to thirty million more employees in the retail, white collar, chemical, and agricultural field, as well as in that citadel of the open shop, the South. It would assure a considerable raising of living standards, and a new political importance for labor.



George Meany

But at the moment these are all consummations devoutly to be wished. Rival international unions, under the merger agreement, are "urged" to unite but not required to do so. Very few show any enthusiasm for the prospect. For many years anyway they will remain warring and divided. It is certain, for instance, that the rival electrical unions will not merge. Neither will the rival retail unions. C. I. O. packinghouse and A. F. of L. butcher workmen continue talks and blow hot and cold alternately, but the chances of fusion are more negative than positive. The rival chemical, seamen, and other international unions are all in the same category—reluctant brides or bridegrooms.

Each union presents unity for-

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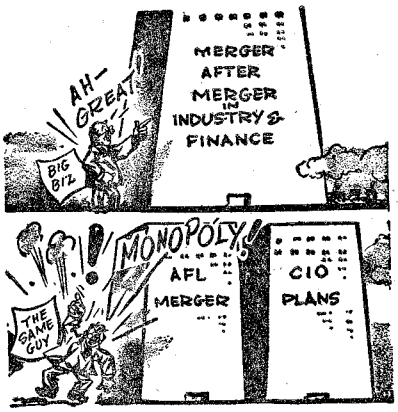


Partymiller in York Gazette and Daily

When the shoe is on the other foot

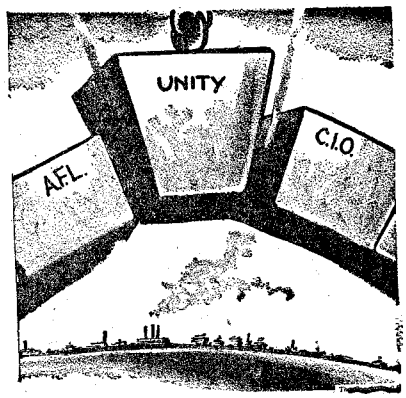
mulas which would clip its rival's wings. The A. F. of L. retail clerks have suggested to the C. I. O. retail and wholesale workers that it would be willing to merge with the *retail* unions in the C. I. O. group. But the latter has bakeries, candy factories, soup factories, warehouses, and what not, along with retail employees. It would not only have to leave behind scores of local unions, but would actually have to divide and atomize many others. C. I. O. packinghouse workers and A. F. of L. butchers are evidently agreed that there will be a separate department for retail butchers and another for packinghouse workers. But how much autonomy shall be given the packinghouse group which will be dominated by C. I. O. forces? The C. I. O. packinghouse union is organizing in a wide variety of fields, including sugar, agriculture, candy factories. What happens to these forces in a possible merger? How do you reconcile the differing attitudes to intra-union democracy or racial discrimination? C. I. O. packinghouse workers have done an excellent job in race relations; they are almost fanatic on the subject. The A. F. of L. group, on the other hand, has some jimcrow locals in it.

Such are the problems of unification. They disturb power structures built up over decades. Leaders of the international unions are what C. Wright Mills has called the "new men of power." Few of them are willing to trade their status of big fish in a little pond for smaller fish in a bigger pond. The merger at federation level is relatively simple because fewer power structures are involved. Perhaps that is what made merger possible. Hitherto the rival groups tried to patch the whole house of labor together before agreeing to unite. Today they have decided on a more modest handiwork; they have dug the ground for the basement—no more—and will wait for the house itself to fall into place over a period of years. The A. F. of L. and the C. I. O. are, after all, essentially lobbying forces, mere servicing bodies, not real seats of power. They coordinate legislative action, do some research and education, handle relations with foreign unions, organize political action of a rudimentary sort. But they have no power over individual union members and play no role in the central activity of labor, collective bargaining. They can only "advise" international unions; they can not instruct. On the other hand, the leaders of internationals by and large have "life and death" say over local unions and the rank and file. They can expel lower officials, veto or call strikes, conduct bargaining sessions, withdraw charters. Each international is autonomous; in today's labor structure it, rather than the A. F. of L. or C. I. O as such, is the power center. So long, therefore, as the rival internationals do not unite, there can be no effective unity.

THAT the rivalry will continue is evident from the fate of the no-raiding pact. Signed last year, the pact provided for arbitration of all jurisdictional disputes between rival unions. But it becomes effective for each international only when it signs the agreement. So far about two out of every three internationals have done so, but the most important union in either federation, the A. F. of L. teamsters, has refused to sign. For all practical purposes this torpedoes the pact. Teamster President Beck and the new power behind the scenes, Jimmy Hoffa, are forging into a dozen fields. They are in fact building a counter-center to the new merged center, making alliances on an *ad hoc* and individual basis. For instance, they have agreements for common organization programs with the A. F. of L. butcher workmen in the food-processing fields, and with the A. F. of L. machinists in the auto-repair and related areas. In these instances the Teamsters scrupulously respect the agreed-upon jurisdictional lines. On the other hand, Teamster unions have on more than one occasion raided the A. F. of L. retail clerks, whom they consider "enemies." What this bodes for the future is hard to say. The new merged federation plans organization efforts in many virgin fields. The Teamsters claim jurisdiction over warehousing and many other activities which are bound to create problems so long as there is no machinery for resolving disputes.

There is, finally, the ideological obstacle to true unity—the lack of *labor solidarity*. For most of the old-line unionists, solidarity is a dead letter. They help or support other unions only when they are allied or friendly with their leaderships. The Teamsters respect picket lines on some occasions, deliberately walk through on others. The same is true of the building-trade unions and many others. Here is perhaps the most serious defect of the whole labor movement. It affects intra-union democracy, idealism, and in fact labor's whole structure and outlook. It is a symptom of the dictatorship and centralization in so many unions which make possible the perversion of the principle of *labor* unity by the opportunism of *leadership* alliance. In political action particularly, the failure to practice the principle of labor solidarity, and the democracy on which it must be based, is fatal. Yet the A. F. of L.-C. I. O. merger does not even touch on this problem; it obviously could not.

We have here an insight into the mechanics and reasons for merger. If the participants had insisted on true labor unity—on the reshuffling of power structures, on changing ideological outlooks—there would have been no merger. The merger takes place precisely because it is the



Partymiller in York Gazette and Daily

On the Agenda

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most rudimentary form of unity possible, the lowest and least effective form. This is not a criticism; the merger, even in its present form, is a step forward. Perhaps this first step will lead to others until true unity is achieved. On the other hand, the merger can lead to more centralization and a dilution of labor militancy. The Executive Council of the merged A. F. of L.-C. I. O. will have twenty-nine members: President George Meany, Secretary-Treasurer William Schnitzler, and twenty-seven vice-presidents, seventeen chosen from present A. F. of L. ranks and ten from the C. I. O. In effect this group will dominate the whole federation, because it will represent the largest and most powerful unions. Small unions are afraid that they will be swallowed; that the biennial conventions (they are annual now) will be mere rubber stamps in the hands of the big unions.

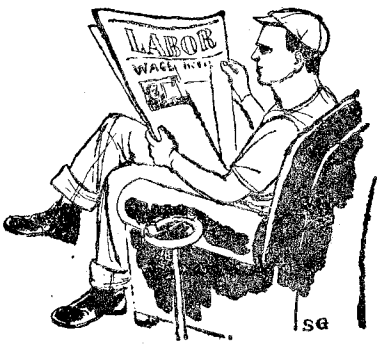
In some areas the prospects are for great improvement. There is no doubt that the new federation will fight more vigorously against racial discrimination. Research and education will play a greater role than hitherto. The same is true in the legislative field: the merged bodies will have more "clout" with Congress and state legislatures. This in fact is the greatest virtue of the merger, and fits in with the role of the two federations as primarily lobbying bodies. In the sphere of organization there may also be some progress, but only if the jurisdictional lines and conflicts are ironed out.

But in other areas the prospects are bleak indeed. It looks now as if Jay Lovestone and Irving Brown of the A. F. of L. will dominate the international-relations scene in preference to the more level-headed and liberal Victor Reuther. Politically the trend is undoubtedly to the Right. This was made evident by events long before the merger was to take place. At the C. I. O. convention last year Walter Reuther quietly interred the Labor Party plank which had for years been approved by his own United Auto Workers. A second signpost was the failure of the C. I. O. executive board, led by Reuther, to take a position on the Formosa question at the time when Quemoy and Matsu seemed to be sparks that might lead to war. Emil Mazey, secretary-treasurer of Reuther's own union and a board member, proposed a militant resolution on this score and pleaded vainly with Reuther to do something. George Meany of the A. F. of L. has a position on this subject close to that of Chiang Kai-shek; Reuther was obviously mindful of this and refused to inject an irritant into the future merger. The chances are that the C. I. O.—and the coterie of ex- and neo-Socialists who are its thinkers and leaders—will continue to defer to the more rabid anti-communism that prevails in the A. F. of L.

This would be an important setback for labor. The C. I. O. often took an independent political line. In Guatemala, for instance, it refused to give Castillo Armas a blank check. No doubt Reuther and his associates hope to influence the merged federation's policy and bring it closer to their own. But as of this moment it seems that the push will be the other way.

THE merger, then, must be looked at from various angles and in different lights. It lays the groundwork for a better day for American labor. But it also presents many pitfalls and dangers which it would be foolish to overlook.

The intriguing question is: why was the merger projected at all? Many writers have indicated that the reason lies in the wave of anti-labor legislation—Taft-Hartley, "right to work" laws, and the like.



Undoubtedly here was justification enough, but for the real motivating factor we must look elsewhere. *The reason for the merger, and at the same time its tragedy, is that the C. I. O. is in the process of disintegration.*

The C. I. O. is uniting at the lowest point of its bargaining power. When the first attempt at unity was made back in 1937, C.I.O. was riding high. From a mere 900,000 members when it left the A. F. of L. in 1937, it had mushroomed to 3,700,000. It was then larger than the parent federation. It had an inside track to Roosevelt's White House; it had captured the imagination of many millions of unorganized; it was staffed with hundreds of idealistic young radicals who were willing to walk picket lines and who knew how to bring out the latent militancy of American labor.

Today the C. I. O., according to its own over-estimated figure, is only five million strong. Its *elan* is gone. Since the first flush of the 1935-1940 period, it has had no sensational organizational successes. It has grown with the economy, but hardly more. The young radicals of yesterday are middle-aged pork choppers today, far removed from the Socialists, Trotskyists, Wobblies, Stalinists, and Lovestoneites with whom they consorted in the thirties. And they no longer work around the clock or dream the dream that inspired them in that long ago when America was digging itself out of the enervating depression. The C. I. O. is not identical with the A. F. of L.: it has no racketeer problem; it has more democratic aspects than the old A. F. of L. international unions such as the Carpenters or Teamsters. But it lacks verve and vigor. Since the big organizing drive in auto, steel, rubber, oil, and packing it has muffed the ball in the South and in a dozen other fields. Politically

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and organizationally it has blended closer to the mentality and make-up of the older federation. Even the wages of its organizers and top officials have slowly inched themselves up toward the $30,000, $50,000 and $70,000 standards of the older elite. The eleven Communist-controlled unions were expelled in 1949, and the C. I. O. has been asserting its allegiance to the free-enterprise system with fervor nearly equal to that of the A. F. of L.

Thus the gaps between the two federations, which in 1935 appeared unbridgeable, have now been bridged. Industrial unionism, political action, organization of the unorganized—these pillars of C. I. O. policy no longer make the difference between the groups. The A. F. of L. too has its industrial unions. The A. F. of L. is today in national politics as a prop to the Democratic Party. And neither A. F. of L. nor C. I. O. has scored any real successes for more than a decade in organizing the unorganized. The groundwork for unity has been there for at least ten years. Only the power drives of a few men kept the movements apart; since the war the only real question has been: who will get posts, who will keep the power when and if merger comes about?

Now the C. I. O. is "returning to the house of labor." For the long run Walter Reuther has great hopes and daring plans; but at this historical juncture he is being married at the point of a shotgun in the hand of David McDonald, the conservative president of the C. I. O. Steelworkers. McDonald's enmity for the irrepressible redhead is painful to behold. At a Jewish Labor Committee dinner some time ago McDonald spent the major portion of his speech berating Reuther and his "socialism." Ever since Reuther became C. I. O. president following Phil Murray's death, this schism with McDonald has threatened to blow the organization sky high. Finally, when McDonald threatened to take his union into the A. F. of L., Reuther had no other course but to step up the pace for merger. The C. I. O. is being brought into the A. F. of L. structure as a kind of industrial-union department on terms similar to those discussed in 1937, but with its flag at half-mast.

The C. I. O. weakness was evident throughout the preliminary fencing

for position. The A. F. of L. takes the two top positions with President Meany and Secretary-Treasurer Schnitzler; it dominates the Executive Council, the Executive Committee, and the General Policy Board composed of all international union presidents. The argument over the merger name is indicative of the whole process. The C. I. O. people wanted a blended name which would advertise merger—something like American *Congress* of Labor. But A. F. of L. leaders refused to yield; the best they would agree to was to tack on the words "and Congress of Industrial Organizations" as a rider to "American Federation of Labor." Everywhere the welcome mat for the C. I. O. is more like a funeral shroud. Throughout the country the C. I. O. is being relegated to second-class citizenship. Naturally in cities like Detroit, where C. I. O. strength is overwhelming, this will be impossible; but the trend is there. The schism between Reuther and McDonald, subordinated for the moment, plagues the C. I. O. even in this transition period. Many A. F. of L. officials have cemented alliances with Steelworker leaders in the hopes of freezing out the autoworker group.

PRESUMABLY Reuther feels that these are inevitable blows in the shakedown period, that he must give considerable ground—and wait. Reuther will have charge of organizing the unorganized. His auto workers have already pledged $1 per member, $1,250,000, to start the job rolling if others will also respond, and with the prestige that comes from bringing in new forces—provided he can do it—Reuther hopes again to make the same kind of spectacular climb that catapulted him first to the head of the Auto Workers and then the C. I. O. itself. Enormously confident, Reuther permits no one to "turn his left end." He knows how to talk radical even when his actions are not so radical; and how to respond to the pressures of the workers. Yielding ground to Meany is for him only an episode in a future regroupment of labor around himself.

During the "waiting period" there will be a realignment. It is already in the making. McDonald's Steelworkers will undoubtedly gravitate toward a more conservative axis, probably with Dave Beck's Teamsters. On the other hand, such unions as David Dubinsky's Ladies Garment Workers and Al Hayes's Machinists, both now in the A. F. of L., may become part of Reuther's C. I. O. department.

What happens after these realignments? Will Reuther's position become stronger, or will there be a new split? Is it possible that a realignment will extend beyond all the present participants? In the thirties the reshuffling of labor's leadership brought together the Center, Lewis, Hillman *et al,* and the Left, Socialists, Stalinists, etc. The extent of the present realignments will depend in the final analysis on the objective situation. If we are in for an inflationary spiral and prosperity, then organization efforts will be much simpler and wage prospects brighter. If we are in for "leveling" and unemployment, the prospects are reversed. The question of war and peace will also cast its long shadow over the inner workings of the labor movement.

The merger is merely an episode in a bigger saga. Though welcome, it is hardly more than a step; certainly not a goal in itself. The important thing is what happens *after* merger.

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Organizing the Unorganized

WHEN John W. Livingston, director of organizing for the merging A. F. of L.-C. I. O., surveys his job he will be looking beyond heavy industry, public utilities, and transportation. These, already fairly well organized, compose the bulk of the 16,000,000 members to whom President George Meany will be pointing with pride. Livingston, the husky auto worker from the Ozarks, will be concerned rather with the 45,000,000 wage-earners outside the union fold. They include most women workers, most white-collar employees, and most of the men and women, white and Negro, employed in the South. If within the next ten years he could double the membership of the A. F. of L.-C. I. O., his name would go down in labor history alongside that of John L. Lewis.

The car you now drive, the house you live in, the meat and bread you eat—these are all pretty likely to be union-made. Likewise the electrical gadgets you live by, your means of getting hither and yon, the structures you work in, the things you read are produced, chances are, by hands that hold a union card. It's not nearly so likely that the clothes you wear (unless you insist on the union label) will be union-made. Most of the food you eat, most of the personal services you receive, the host of small and inexpensive things—these are, by and large, without benefit of union protection to their makers, processors, and handlers.

The statistics which face Livingston in his organizing drive do not give the whole picture. For instance, Chicago. This cradle of American labor is less unionized, factory-wise, than Richmond, Virginia, or Birmingham, Alabama. Enormous segments of heavy industry, particularly in oil and chemicals, remain untouched by orthodox unionism. In certain industries where both A. F. of L. and C. I. O. have competing unions, as in meat packing, textiles, and chemicals, internecine strife has taken a heavy toll. But the key to Chicago's poor showing is the small factory. In this metropolitan area there are no fewer than 14,000 factories employing one million workers, and most of them have fewer than a thousand employees. Here unionism runs into cost factors and the law of diminishing returns. A union administrator will tell you that it costs only about twice as much to furnish union services in a plant with 1,000 members as in one with a hundred. The temptation here is to organize not the workers but the employers into associations to be more easily policed by association-wide contracts. Small factories are a major union problem almost everywhere; in the aggregate they may well account for 10,000,000 unorganized workers.

Another roadblock to unionism is the white-collar employee. The factory worker tends to be output minded and to tie this in with severely regimented wage scales, seniority and working rules. The office workers in the big industrial plants look with no little envy on the status production workers have attained; whether unions can modify their rigid notions to fit the white collar, while the white collar abandons some of his notions of superiority, will determine union success in this most promising of all the big unconquered sectors.

Women are a problem, too. Or rather, union men are the problem in their attitude toward organizing women. The traditional male idea has been that the husband, as family breadwinner, should earn enough to support his family. Unions helped mightily to get the children out of the factories, and some of them thought woman's place, too, was in the home. However desirable this old American dream may have been, the facts of life negate it. Women constitute one-third of the labor force; one-third of women over fourteen are at work. The new A. F. of L.-C. I. O. director of organization may know better than to try to stretch women on unionism's procrustean bed. Since he'll likely be too male-conscious to see the problem (not a single woman has ever been elected to the executive board of either labor federation), perhaps there should be a woman codirector of organization. That might rectify the present situation where men are averaging $3,469 in yearly earnings against $1,252 for women, who are actually 13 per cent worse off, wage-wise, than they were thirteen years ago. The catch phrase, so dear to both Republican and Democratic vote-catchers, that labor never had it so good, certainly doesn't apply to women.

WHATEVER his other problems, Director Livingston is not going to be bothered much by the size of his organizing budget. The new federation starts with a built-in annual deficit of between three and four million dollars. This stems from the facts of merger. Governed by sacrosanct rules of tenure and seniority, the merged federation will enjoy no economies but rather a two-headed bureaucracy in which every office-holder is assured of his job.

The lack of money doesn't mean too much. There were hardly pennies available back in the 1930's when steel, auto, electrical, and machine workers organized themselves. Sending scads of paid organizers into virgin territory usually doesn't pay off. The paid organizers are apt to limit their efforts to getting signatures on application cards; that indeed is the criterion of success in many a union headquarters. It is assumed that there is some magic in the word "union" and that this *deus ex machina* will do the job somehow by remote control. Wherever workers have been genuinely organized into unions, they have accepted the union as a vehicle which they must pull to success by their own efforts. It is true that there are many unions organized by bureaucratic methods, but they can better be described as workingmen's business organizations which come to life once a year when the contract expires. Unionism as a way of life, which is the biggest asset Director Livingston has in doubling the A. F. of L.-C. I. O. membership in the next decade, is a lot bigger than most union officials care to admit; in fact there is a certain tendency to lean over backwards and insist that the immediate pork chop is the sole goal of labor. A certain type of university intellectual who dabbles in labor matters fiercely loves this concept of business unionism, perhaps because it is supposed to be anti-Marxist, but few average citizens love it. It is a

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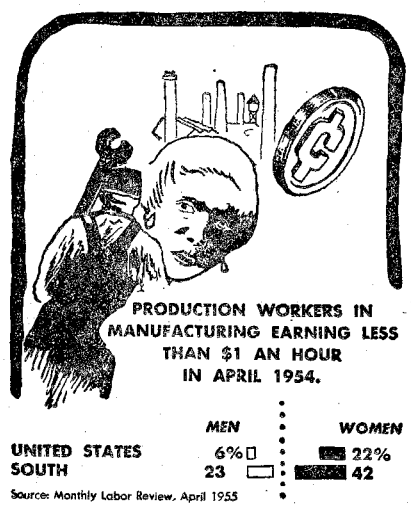


bit too materialistic to enlist widespread admiration among those not directly involved.

Business unionism will offer certain obstacles to Director Livingston's program. As these unions achieve a certain limited success, and their officials acquire financial and social status in rather sumptuous headquarters, bureaucratism becomes a factor. So long as the dues continue to roll in, these cumbersome machines tend to rely on their own momentum to survive. While every union covets more per capita, the imagination and drive needed for organizing become dulled and the machines become involved in contemplating their own internal problems. Unable to cope with the challenge within their own industries, they look only with vague interest toward ambitious programs for organizing women, white collars, or the South. The typical union official today is an administrator, not an organizer. The situation was highlighted when the United Auto Workers offered to toss $1,250,000 into a general organizing kitty if other unions would also chip in. The idea lies vegetating in the files and it will be interesting to see how much luck Director Livingston has in resurrecting it.

An exception must be noted. The Teamsters, an extremely self-centered and businesslike union, has garnered a rich harvest of small factories, warehouses, and processing plants. Almost any unorganized plant that a truck may enter to deliver or take away goods is subject to Teamsters' interest; so widespread has become its jurisdiction that it parallels in structure and scope the great British Transport and General Workers Union. While the Teamsters organize on a strictly self-centered basis which may afford little help to A. F. of L.-C. I. O.'s general campaigns, the success they have attained in aggressive organizing shows the possibilities lying around unrealized.

Another encouraging factor with which Director Livingston is well acquainted is the proletarianizing of the supervisory and technical staffs in heavy industry. In oil refineries, for example, there is now one supervisor for every five or six hourly workers. These, along with the technicians and professionals in the factories, are tending to become "the masses" and inclined to like the kind of protection that unionism affords.

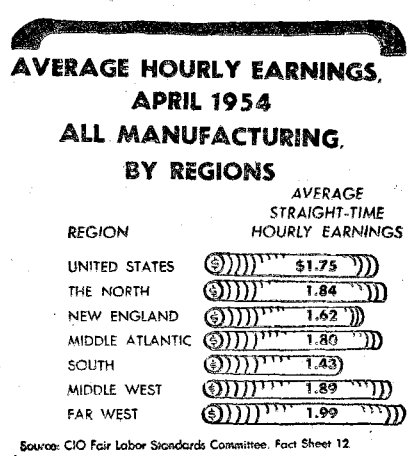
THIS GENERATION has seen two upsurges of organization, the first growing out of the desperation of the Great Depression, the second out of World War II. In the first, workers organized themselves. In the second, the unions did the job through labor-board ballots with a powerful assist from the government which needed to have war workers mobilized for more effective direction.

The current era differs from both. It can hardly be said that the unorganized show desperation today, particularly in the North. Many of them bask in the shade of the union umbrella without having to pay dues. Perhaps as many workers enjoy the wage benefits of unionism outside the unions as inside—they are the free riders. Then there are the millions of capitalism's captives, the indentured servants of instalment purchases. They feel they can't afford to risk strikes for the union because the sheriff might haul away the cherished TV, the beloved new car, or the housewife's proud badge of freedom, her machines for washing and cleaning. Not in their ranks of course are the appalling number even in the North who earn less than $1 an hour, but still are an influential minority among the unorganized.

Employers, too, have their umbrella, the Cadillac Cabinet in Washington, basically hostile to unionism. Lothair Teetor, former Assistant Secretary of Commerce whose Perfect Circle firm in Indiana believes in shooting it out with the United Auto Workers, hastily abandoned his Washington post not, perhaps, because his hostility to the union was repudiated but because this display of pre-Rooseveltian anti-unionism was embarrassing. The Secretary of the Interior, whose struck Oregon firm depends more on starvation than bullets to beat down the union, rides more easily in the Cabinet. Under Eisenhower, the National Labor Relations Board has become a coolly hostile force from which unions can expect no favors. Insofar as possible, they bypass the very board which was set up originally to protect their right to organize. If a minor depression should set in, the unions, under the present Administration, might well find themselves entrenched in a war of self-preservation rather than in seeking more millions to organize.

Director Livingston then must face the intrinsic differences of this period, which contrasts with the 1930's and with the war years. There is an undeniable passivity among many unorganized workers and a growing intransigence among hard-boiled employers. These are high hurdles.

Any serious proposal to add millions to the labor movement must take into account the South, where industry is burgeoning, wages are low, and security generally non-existent. The emancipation of Southern labor is the key not only to the creation of a truly national labor movement but to the refreshment of American political life. A South brought up to national wage standards, liberated from industrial-plantation feudalists, and freed from bondage to the race issue would give a new turn to the national life. This long overdue emancipation can be labor's greatest gift both to the South and to the country at large. It will be achieved when Southern workers find the union key. They



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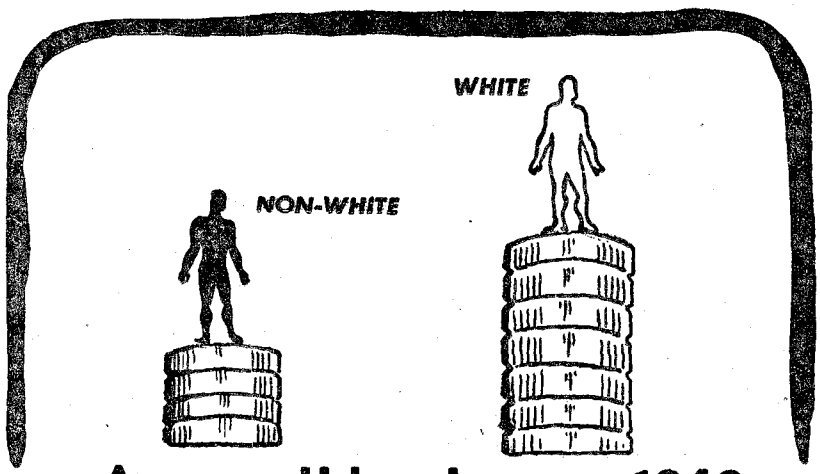
are ready, they are good joiners, and when they have pledged their word they are loyal to it (a mighty asset on the picket line). Here especially the spiritual values that labor can express find a ready response. Southern workers are tired of being second-class industrial citizens, of being told that sunshine is a good substitute for adequate pay and the self-respect that unions bring. Nor will the chains of instalment-buying bind them; they have little to lose and much to win in a fight.

The textile baronies along the Atlantic Piedmont differ as sharply from the industrialized Birmingham region as does oil-rich Texas and the Southwest from either. There is no unified "South." Alongside the peonized sugar workers of Louisiana are unionized oil workers on the Gulf Coast who have wiped out the North-South wage differential. The Birmingham steel workers have just erased the wage differential; the meat packers are narrowing the margin. Along the bayous and in the piney woods giant new plants are mushrooming, most of them built by Northern corporations accustomed to dealing with unions up North. Any Southern organizer will tell you that a new plant is twice as easy (or half as difficult) to line up as an older one.

Nevertheless repeated "Southern drives" have petered out. A good bit of the blame must be placed at labor's door because of its hesitant attitude toward Negroes. A firm stand has been diluted out of concern for the prejudices of the white worker; as a result neither white nor Negro is organized.

There is no disguising the stubbornness of racial prejudice; on the other hand it has been magnified out of all perspective by the racist press and agitators. It is becoming increasingly clear to Southern workers that discrimination is holding back both races. All the way from Richmond to Corpus Christi union leaders can give concrete examples of success in fighting discrimination. The Negro, as an ally, can decide the issue of unionism in the South; if he is left uninterested, he can defeat unionism by his mere passivity. When the A. F. of L.-C. I. O. brings its fight for economic and political equality out of the clouds of convention oratory and pious resolutions into a genuine fighting program, the next drive in the South will need neither millions of dollars nor thousands of paid organizers. To paraphrase Marx, the emancipation of the Southern workers will be achieved by the Southern workers themselves, once Negroes are assured a position in the labor movement fully equal to their white brothers.



Average Urban Income • 1949

CITY OR REGION	AVERAGE INCOME		NON-WHITE INCOME AS PERCENTAGE OF WHITE
	White	Non-White	
ATLANTA	$2,238	1,020	45.6%
MEMPHIS	2,201	921	41.8
NEW ORLEANS	2,090	981	46.9
NEW YORK	2,562	1,858	72.5
CHICAGO	2,695	1,919	71.2
ST. LOUIS	2,403	1,402	58.3
LOS ANGELES	2,297	1,627	70.8
SOUTH	1,866	862	46.2
NORTH CENTRAL	2,242	1,681	75.0

SOURCE: U.S. CENSUS, 1950

THE MAIN reason organized labor has made little progress in recent years can be found in "public opinion." Director Livingston will find this public opinion the all-important factor in his organizing plans. Not the public opinion so readily manufactured by the mass media controlled by the business elements, but rather that of the grapevine, of word-of-mouth that spreads among unorganized workers as they eye unionism as it is. In this, the spiritual factors far outweigh the material, odd as that may seem. The name of John L. Lewis was magic to millions in the 1930's because at last one of their own stood up, fought back, and won against the titans of his time. That exhilaration of spirit was worth more than millions in the treasury. The image of Organized Labor as the protector of the poor, the apostle of public education, the champion of better health and welfare, the watchdog against private plunder of the national resources, the advocate of world brotherhood, is the most valuable asset the A. F. of L.-C. I. O. director of organization can possibly have. That is why the business press has been so keen to show up sporadic pilfering of

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union-welfare funds and to front-page the mansions of a few labor leaders. If the labor movement can be reduced in public estimation to a selfish materialistic concept in which a favored class advances its own pay (and prices to the public, as the press insists) and collaborates with municipal corruptionists for special privilege, the vast majority of men and women still outside the House of Labor will remain there. If labor's political action, in practice, seems aimed at seeking favors, in advancing the interests of political shysters, in urging expanded military expenditures so that unionized war workers in plane factories and other munitions plants may be sheltered, there will be little spark of response from the unorganized. Even if their aspirations are unverbalized, they seek security, dignity, peace.

In truth there have always been the two drives within the labor movement, the one animated by the highest concern for humanity, the other rather desperately seeking to find safety for some behind barriers. Across the country from coast to coast there are thousands dedicated to the proposition that unions are the engines of democracy in an industrial society; their voices are going to be heard increasingly as the bankruptcy in imagination and drive of the business unionists continues to breed sterility. It is to them that Director Livingston will need to be looking for the organizers, largely unpaid, of the millions who should be in the unified House of Labor.

Democracy and the Labor Unions

IN THE last fifteen years, the terms "civil liberties" and "civil rights" have more and more been used to designate different kinds of liberties; "civil liberties," the broad social, political, economic, and religious rights guaranteed to all citizens under the Constitution, "civil rights" the right to be free of discriminations based on race, color, creed, or national origin. On the whole, labor's record is much better in the latter field than in the former.

Generally speaking, American labor's position on civil liberties has been ambivalent. Although no group in our society has a higher stake in civil liberties, labor has seldom organized to defend civil liberties in a systematic way. Indeed it is arguable that more efforts to defend labor's civil liberties have been formed without than within the labor movement. On the other hand, labor has had to battle all the way for the right to organize and for recognition of collective-bargaining principles, and its gains in these fields have had important civil-liberties implications. But these battles have generally been waged for specific bread-and-butter objectives, rather than to vindicate the right to organize and bargain collectively as an aspect of basic constitutional freedom. And this is so despite the fact that freedom of speech, assembly, and petition have been key issues in many organizational drives. To this day labor continues to present its case better when the issue directly involves its right to organize, as in its excellently conducted campaign against state right-to-work laws (see The Right-To-Work Laws by Eleanor G. Astor, *The Nation*, April 2, 1955), than when civil liberties issues of less immediate concern are at stake.

IN LARGE part because of the intensity of the initial employer opposition to unions and collective bargaining, the structure of American trade unions gave more attention to safeguarding the union from external attack or internal disruption than to the rights of individual union members. For years the courts made extremely little headway in their repeated efforts to protect local unions, and their treasuries, from the often arbitrary action of executive boards. While there has been marked improvement in this area of recent years, there is still need for a larger measure of internal democracy. Free speech is still an unrecognized principle in too many unions. In how many large American unions is a "loyal opposition" permitted to function? Opposition candidates in elections are all too rare. In many unions, the right of a minority to even limited access to the union's publication for the purpose of airing alternative views and policies is severely restricted or not recognized at all. It is not surprising, therefore, that the leadership of American labor has talked more often about labor's right to organize than about civil liberties in general. Nor is it surprising that the rank and file of many unions has exhibited marked indifference to denials of civil liberties to other groups; they just haven't known too much about civil liberties.

Also surviving in wide sections of the American labor movement is the Gompers conception of a narrow, non-political preoccupation with bread-and-butter issues. This tradition, whatever its merits at particular times, did not encourage a broad outlook on such issues as civil liberties. And, be it noted, the general public's attitude toward labor did not always encourage labor to become concerned about the denial of civil liberties to other groups.

Given these considerations, it is not surprising that wide sections of the labor movement should, like other elements in the society, have been caught up in the hysteria of the cold war. Specific factors in the postwar period encouraged this tendency. In the immediate postwar period, sections of labor had accumulated grievances which had not found open expression because of the wartime proscription of strikes. At the same time, opportunists saw a chance to utilize the traditional anti-radical climate of the labor movement to ride to power. After all, the first Smith Act prosecution had been launched in Minneapolis at the instigation of high officials of the Teamsters' union who were anxious to liquidate a Trotskyite faction that controlled its locals in that city. Opportunistic leadership elements, noting the change in the general climate of opinion, were quick to use the Communists, and radical rank-and-file elements, as scapegoats in a postwar period. Purges were conducted within particular unions and eleven left-wing unions were expelled from the C. I. O. after World War II. In point of fact, however, most unions, A. F.

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of L. and C. I. O., had dealt with the Communist issue in the late 1930's and early 1940's; the cold-war atmosphere merely provided a setting within which the issue could be exploited for a variety of reasons and motivations. Nevertheless, the material which formed the basis of the expulsion of the left-wing unions of the C. I. O. was incorporated by Senator Humphrey in hearings held in 1951 which led eventually to the enactment of the Communist Control Act of 1954. This act was backed in the Senate by some of labor's staunchest friends, despite the fact that every labor group—A. F. of L., C. I. O., Railway Brotherhood, and major independent unions—had opposed the anti-labor bills, such as the Butler Bill, incorporated in the 1954 act. True, the bill was labeled a Communist Control Act, but some of its provisions have clear anti-labor implications. Witness the fact that the A. F. of L. did manage to secure the following exception:

> That any labor organization which is an affiliate in good standing of a national federation or other labor organization whose policies and activities have been directed to opposing Commnist organizations, and Communist foreign governments, or the world Communist movement, shall be presumed prima facie not to be a "Communist-infiltrated organization."

Because of these internal developments in the postwar period the labor movement was slow to react to the curtailment of civil liberties which began, in a sense, with the promulgation of President Truman's loyalty order in 1947. Implicit in the order was the idea of blacklisting, both of organizations and of individuals. States, counties, and cities began to adopt similar provisions which directly affected many unions and their members. Private organizations and institutions began to adopt the same procedures. At the same time, the House Committee on Un-American Activities, the Senate Internal Security subcommittee, and the Senate Government Operations subcommittee conducted hearings which, related to a series of Smith Act and perjury prosecutions under the Taft-Hartley Act, intensified political fears, bred panic and hysteria, and extended the blacklists. The A. F. of L. had consistently endorsed the work of the House Committee on Un-American Activities during the years when that committee was harassing certain C. I. O. unions. At this earlier period, the C. I. O. took strong positions in defense of civil liberties but these positions were asserted with lessening vigor as the cold war intensified. Many C. I. O. unions were opposed to the first—Minneapolis—Smith Act prosecution, but after 1948, when Communists took the place of Trotskyites as defendants, the attitude changed. The timing of Congressional hearings on "un-American

activities" in connection with pending N. L. R. B. elections between rival union groups, and also in relation to pending collective-bargaining negotiations and internal trade-union elections, clearly indicated that elements in the labor movement were collaborating with the staffs of the committees.

Later, too, both A. F. of L. and C. I. O. unions were slow to react to army discharge cases, to such political prosecutions as the Lattimore case, and the implications of the industrial security personnel set-up, to the spread of test oaths (involving, in some areas, tenants in housing projects, as well as teachers and municipal employees), denials of passports, and to prosecutions under state sedition statutes where the constitutional issues were virtually identical with those involved in state right-to-work laws which labor bitterly opposes. Yet these measures could hardly fail to concern labor; according to Chief Justice Warren the federal government's security program now embraces 8,000,000 Americans—3,000,000 in the armed services, 2,400,000 in government employment, and almost 3,000,000 employees of defense contractors. Senator Hennings puts the total much higher, namely 20,000,000. As was pointed out recently in *The Nation,* provisions of the industrial security program could easily be used to make a shambles of union-security provisions in collective-bargaining agreements as well as to blacklist trade-union members.

True, some unions have opposed these developments; the U. A. W.'s action in the Radulovich case is apposite. But by and large, labor has been slow to react to these measures, it has let other groups lead, and when it has acted it has not followed up with recommendations which would lead to a growing rank-and-file awareness of the issues. Too often also it has failed to adopt measures designed to bring labor's political power to bear on Senators and Representatives who might have listened to labor, if not to civil-liberties organizations or church groups. This was the pattern of labor's reaction to McCarthy, which developed slowly, uncertainly, with more attention being devoted to resolutions denouncing McCarthy than to means by which these resolutions might be implemented (see: *The Nation,* Labor and McCarthy, by Bernard D. Nossiter, July 24, 1954).

THE TIDE began to turn, so far as labor was concerned, with the adoption of a strong statement on Civil Liberties and Internal Security at the C. I. O. convention on December 9, 1954, in Los Angeles. This was much the strongest and most comprehensive statement that a major labor group had adopted up to that time. Since then, too, the more direct involvement of the labor movement in witch-hunting procedures has brought about a stiffening of labor's opposition. The C. I. O. Steelworkers, for example, came to the defense of its political-action director who had been accused of being a Communist by one of the government's professional informers. Harvey O'Connor's effort to evoke the protection of the First Amendment in a contest with Senator McCarthy won widespread labor support, doubtless because of his background in the labor movement. Similar recent instances might be cited. Throughout the period of the cold war the expelled left-wing unions conducted some effective campaigns on behalf of civil liberties, a case in

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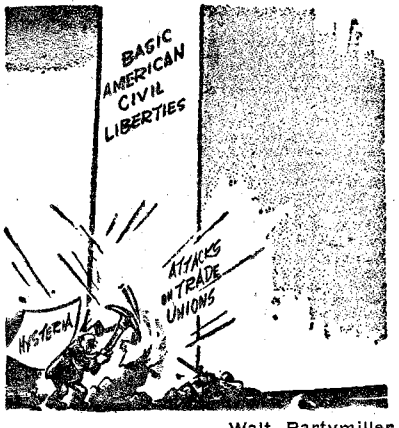
point being the impressive victory won by the West Coast I. L. W. U. in having the coast guard screening set-up declared unconstitutional.

Despite improvement, the labor movement continues to exhibit a remarkable sensitivity to official attitudes on certain key civil-liberties issues. The American Federation of Television and Radio Artists-A. F. of L., by a 4 to 1 vote in a national referendum, has approved a rule which provides that any member who invokes the Fifth Amendment when questioned about membership in the Communist Party may be subject to charges and, after a hearing, to possible expulsion. In this instance, a faction of the union was clearly collaborating with the Congressional committee that held the hearing and was, in effect, a party to the blacklisting of its own members. (See Unholy Alliance, AFTRA and the Blacklist, by Jay Nelson Tuck, *The Nation*, September 3, 1955). It should be noted, however, that there was, and is, strong opposition within the union to the position taken. On the same issue, the Representative Assembly of the Newspaper Guild in New York will ballot on December 15 and 16 on a measure to determine whether the guild should resist the firing of members who have invoked the Fifth Amendment when questioned about Communist Party membership.

Until the adoption of the civil-liberties resolution at the 1954 C. I. O. convention, cited above, the best statement on the role of labor in relation to civil liberties was that issued by the Packinghouse Workers-C. I. O. in 1953, under the caption The Road Ahead. The following quotation from this excellent statement is perhaps the best comment that could be made on labor's attitude toward civil liberties during the cold-war period:

> We are rapidly becoming a nation of cowed and frightened people—frightened and cowed not by any foreign power or enemy but by the McCarthys and Veldes. And we in the labor movement must confess that too often we have been counted not among the few with courage but among the many with fear.
>
> Yes, sometimes we have spoken. But not often enough, not long enough, not loud enough.
>
> And even when we spoke, we rarely acted.
>
> We, A. F. of L. and C. I. O. alike, passed resolutions condemning the activities of the House Un-American Committee and similar legislative investigating bodies. But have we taken a single concrete step in aid of any of the "unpopular" victims of these committees? Have we come to the support of Owen Lattimore in his defense against the outlandish indictment he faces? Have we been able to set aside our fears sufficiently to recognize that in his recent contempt conviction for refusing to turn his union membership lists over to a Congressional investigating committee Abram Flaxer of the United Public Workers was supporting a principle on which any trade-union leader would face jail rather than betray his trust?
>
> We in C. I. O. by official convention resolution viewed with alarm the conviction of certain Communist leaders not for overt acts but for what they taught. But neither our union nor, so far as we are aware, any other national union in either A. F. of L. or C. I. O. took a single concrete step by way of court briefs or otherwise to bring our views to a forum where they might produce results.
>
> We in the labor movement have repeatedly stated our support for the protection of the Bill of Rights. But the campaign to destroy the constitutional privilege of every individual to refuse to give testimony which may later be used against him in criminal proceedings has not vigorously been challenged by labor. This campaign pretends to accept the privilege but seeks to destroy it by promoting the false impression that those who stand on a constitutional right must be viewed as admitting guilt. College professors asserting the privilege have been fired, as if they had committed an offense. The American Association of University Professors condemned the discharge, but none from labor spoke up. Writers, artists, professional people asserting the privilege have been fired or blacklisted, as if they had committed an offense, and none from labor spoke up.
>
> In our own union, we allowed leaders of our own local unions to be placed under attack by the Un-American Committee in 1952 while we offered no support.



Walt Partymiller
in York Gazette and Daily
Chip by Chip

The A.F. of L. Machinist

But as labor moves into the post-McCarthy era—if indeed that era is at an end—several major incidents show that its militancy is not by any means dead and that given direct provocation, as by an employer, it is quite able to defend its own liberties. The Square D strike in Detroit, the Perfect Circle strike in Indiana, the Louisiana strike of the Packinghouse Workers, the strike of Miami hotel workers, of railway employees on the L. & N., and the strike against Southern Bell (all reported in *The Nation*), textile strikes in the South (Slump in Textiles, Bernard Nossiter, January 22, 1955), are proof enough that labor's militancy can be easily provoked. What the labor movement does not seem to realize yet, however, is that the institutionalized security systems, as in the industrial-security program, are far more dangerous to unions in the long run than employer union-baiting tactics.

THE AMERICAN labor movement has exhibited remarkable progress, in the last decade, in the elimination of racial discrimination. Despite a strong traditional bias in some unions, the labor movement has advanced so far in this field that, at the present time, only a few unions might be cited in opposition to anti-segregation measures.

The N. A. A. C. P. indicates that only three of the lesser A. F. of L. unions still specifically exclude Negroes by their constitutions or by-laws. Thus the grossest form of racial discrimination in the labor movement has been virtually eliminated. However, some major A. F. of L.

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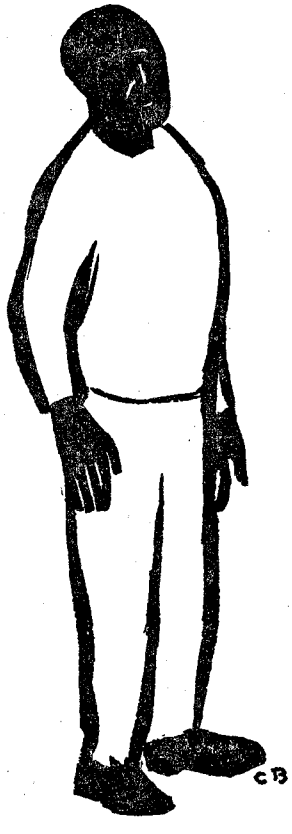
unions continue to exclude Negroes by what is called "tacit consent." The N.A.A.C.P. also recognizes a third and larger category of discriminating unions, namely, those which for the most part confine Negroes to "auxiliary locals." The failure of labor's Operation Dixie in the South in the early 1940's was in part due to the failure of the unions to oppose segregation in a more forthright manner. The success of the Packinghouse Workers-C. I. O. in bucking segregation practices in its Southern locals confirms this judgment. In view of the marked improvement which has taken place in labor's stand on civil rights, its organizational efforts in the South should meet with a larger measure of success.

The Packinghouse Workers racial integration program is a model of its kind. It insists on a clause in its contract which not only forbids discrimination in hiring but establishes non-segregation in all plant facilities such as locker rooms and lunchrooms—even in the South. The union has a Negro international vice-president and three of its ten districts—among them one which includes Texas, Oklahoma, and Louisiana—are headed by Negroes.

Currently the N. A. A. C. P. is engaged in a campaign which may result in major gains for fair-employment practices. Charges have been brought before the President's Committee on Government Contracts against four major oil and chemical companies and four unions, operating in Louisiana, Texas, and Arkansas. The companies are Esso Standard, Cities Service Refining, Carbide and Chemical, and Lion Oil; the unions are the International Brotherhood of Teamsters, Oil Workers International, International Union of Operating Engineers, and Independent Industrial Workers Association. The complaint to the committee cites the action pending in the United States Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals involving Gulf Oil and the Oil Workers International Union. What this action, in turn, involves, is nothing less than employment practices in the entire oil industry. The essence of the N. A. A. C. P.'s complaint is that the oil industry has set, and unions have acquiesced in, discriminatory hiring practices.



Individual unions have taken strong positions in support of civil-rights legislation and against the racial lawlessness that prevails in Mississippi today. The Packinghouse Workers, for example, called on Congress and the President to take these positive measures: (1) a federal investigation of the lynch murder of Emmett Louis Till and of the entire Mississippi judicial system; (2) enforcement of the Bill of Rights equally throughout the South and the North; (3) implementation of the Supreme Court's decision against segregation in the public school system; (4) passage of civil-rights laws during the next session of Congress to afford all citizens equal protection under the law and to guarantee their rights against segregation and discrimination; (5) passage of federal law outlawing the poll tax and other restrictions so that both white and Negro citizens in the South will be guaranteed the right to vote.

Recently delegates representing 300,000 unionists, meeting in a two-day session convened by the National Trade Union Committee for Racial Justice, asked a merged A. F. of L.-C. I. O. to provide in its constitution for complete and unreserved equality of membership. Speaking at this meeting, Senator Herbert Lehman said that labor unions must complete the job of putting their own house in order "and of establishing full equality of membership without discrimination or segregation. Simultaneously, the unified labor movement must throw its full strength behind the cause of justice and equality for all Americans in all of our institutions." The proposed appointment of a Commission on Civil Rights by the merging labor groups, if carried out, should give real impetus to Senator Lehman's suggestion. However, Negro leaders are worried about the effects of the merger, and their concern is clearly manifest by their attempt to get a Negro appointed to the proposed A. F. of L.-C. I. O. Executive Council.

LABOR generally seems to be taking a more progressive stand on matters of immigration policy. Traditionally the A. F. of L. favored exclusionary immigration laws and played a key role in the agitation against Orientals on the West Coast. But at recent hearings on the McCarran-Walter act spokesmen for both the C. I. O. and A. F. of L. favored changes in the quota formula and more liberal admission policies. Labor's attitude on the so-called "wetback" problem, while reflecting to some extent the traditional bias in favor of exclusionary policies, has nevertheless been accompanied by statements, such as those issued by the Texas State Federation of Labor-A. F. of L., which are a far cry from those issued by labor when the exclusionary immigration act of 1924 was adopted. Similarly, labor may be expected to take a more favorable position in defense of civil liberties. Like the country as a whole, it is beginning to move clear of the black shadow of fear and hysteria.

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Labor and Political Action

ON NOVEMBER 8, 1955, American voters in a scattering of municipal and state elections provided political analysts with enough evidence to suggest two seemingly contradictory trends in so far as organized labor's role in politics was concerned. On the one hand, labor unions helped the Democrats score a series of stunning victories. Of special interest were the astonishing returns in Indiana, where New Castle, the battleground of the United Auto Workers and the Perfect Circle Corporation, threw out the incumbent Republican mayor who had been instrumental in using the National Guard to limit labor's rights in that long and bitter strike. The farm vote unquestionably helped in creating the Indiana revolt, but labor played an important role. On the other hand, in nearby Ohio, organized labor received a severe setback when it presented a strictly labor issue to the voting public, namely, a revision of the Ohio unemployment-compensation law including a clause that would make legal the payment of the modified guaranteed-annual-wage supplements negotiated by the U. A. W. with Ford and General Motors.

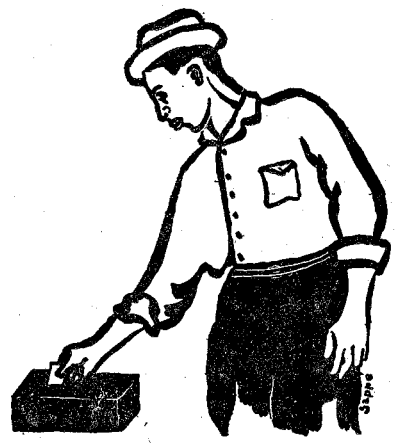
Contradictions such as this are typical of labor's political history in the last few decades. Does an A. F. of L.-C. I. O. merger promise labor greater consistency and effectiveness in political action? Will the 16,000,000 members of an A. F. of L.-C. I. O. be able to realize their full potential as a political force?

Politically, the trade-union movement developed along unexpected lines. As late as 1914 the A. F. of L. was "anti-political"; as an "aristocracy" of labor it moved on a narrow plane of so-called practical politics involving petty legislation—building-trades problems, the repeal of labor injunction laws, and so on. Its policy was expressed in Samuel Gompers's dictum: "Reward your friends and punish your enemies." This nonpartisanship was broken briefly in 1924 when the A. F. of L. endorsed Robert LaFollette for President. But this was a wayward fling at progressivism; even in the depths of the Great Depression the social and political outlook of the A. F. of L. remained so antiquated that it steadfastly refused to endorse a demand for national unemployment insurance.

But the events of the 1930's presented the A. F. of L. with a massive challenge. The depression-born C. I. O. was almost guaranteed to succeed precisely because its social and political outlook was in almost flat contradiction to that of the A. F. of L. With the C. I. O. was born a new and important role for labor in the political field. C. I. O.'s triumphs were in a sense a mass protest against craft unionism and the non-political character and passivity of the A. F. of L. Its freedom from racketeering, its rank-and-file democracy, its professed faith in the equality of races appealed to many workers and to large segments of the general public. It rushed into fields which the A. F. of L. had ignored, becoming immersed in politics from the very outset. The C. I. O. played an important role in the electoral victories of the New Deal.

AT THE C. I. O.'s helm in those early days was a group of radical young idealists who gave the new organization its political line and a crusading flavor. Even a cursory reading of the convention proceedings of the time conveys something of the dynamics of the movement; it appeared that at long last American labor was headed for the formation of a Labor Party. The creation of the American Labor Party of New York was, of course, just a first step.

Basking in the sunlight of the New Deal, the C. I. O. and even a reluctant A. F. of L. were embroiled in a series of legislative and political controversies in which their conscious goal was social reform. Almost lost was the realization that in the meantime organizational success and its attendant administrative problems were leading to dissipation of labor's new-found crusading spirit. Not until Doctor Win-the-War replaced the New Deal, and labor's ranks began to show increasing dissatisfaction with wartime restrictions, the wage freeze, and the evaporation of the idea of equality of sacrifice did the rank and file catch on to what was happening.



In Michigan a militant cadre of the U. A. W.-C. I. O. responded to the situation by forming the Michigan Commonwealth Federation, hoping that it would provide a beacon light for labor's political action throughout the nation. Meanwhile the American Labor Party had already gone through its first split when David Dubinsky refused to work with the Communist Party and helped to set up the Liberal Party in New York. History decreed a short life for the Michigan Commonwealth Federation; its program was vague, it was opposed by top C.I.O. officials who were determined to stick by President Roosevelt, and the country was drifting into the conservatism characteristic of a nation at war. In general, while the strains between the Democratic Party and labor leaders were visible on many issues, the alliance nevertheless managed to survive the war.

Part of this survival rested, of course, on the theory that labor must temporize until after the war. In the thinking of many labor leaders, the prospect of a postwar depression was coupled with the probability that there would be a swing to the Left, and that the time would then be ripe for the formation of some kind of national labor party. This feeling was encouraged by British Labor's success in defeating England's wartime hero, Winston Churchill. In this country speculative articles naming Walter Reuther as a possible Presidential candidate gained wide credence.

In retrospect, things turned out quite differently. Labor's postwar

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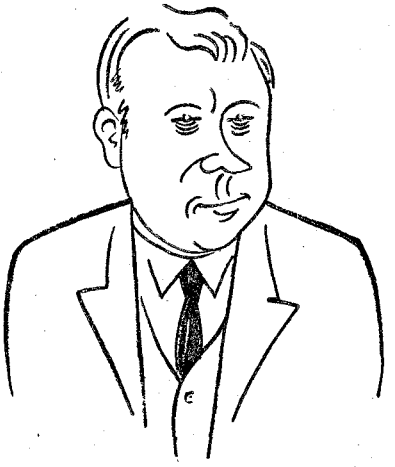
belligerence was almost entirely confined to economic issues. The most radical thing that the labor movement did in the postwar years was to accept Walter Reuther's "open-the-books" and the General Motors strike program. Labor's compromise victories of the period represented the end rather than the beginning of the expected "swing to the Left." If labor leaders were dissatisfied with, or in some cases had private contempt for Harry S. Truman as President, their feeling turned to unbounded admiration when the little man from Missouri fooled everybody and defeated Dewey in the 1948 election.

Truman's victory stopped the trend toward independent political action by labor dead in its tracks. Thereafter, despite many public speeches and proclamations to the contrary, Walter Reuther and the U. A. W. quietly dropped the idea of building their own political machine and decided to throw their energies into rebuilding the Democratic Party in Michigan. During 1946, 1947, and 1948 U. A. W. leaders could more easily be found at Democratic meetings than in ordinary union gatherings. In Michigan the C. I. O. had repeatedly backed losers in Detroit municipal elections, but in 1948 they found a surprising winner—Governor "Soapy" Williams. Since then Michigan politics, from labor's standpoint, have revolved around the relations of Governor Williams and Walter Reuther.

The Michigan pattern was typical of labor's shifted position throughout the nation in the 1948-1952 period. What had been an alliance of convenience between the Democratic Party and the labor movement, rationalized on the C. I. O. side as a technique for capturing the machinery and converting it to the use of a new labor party, had become a permanent marriage. The labor press ran fewer and fewer articles urging independent political action and settled down to loud praise of the Democratic Party as the party of the people.

Meanwhile the pressure of the C. I. O. had forced the A. F. of L. in 1948 to create Labor's League for Political Education. But this was never intended as a hat in the ring.

The most important test of labor's role within the Democratic Party came in 1950 when the C. I. O. and the A. F. of L. went all out to defeat Senator Robert A. Taft in Ohio. The unions were so blinded by their hatred of the author of the Taft-Hartley law that they failed to look at their own candidate. Joe Ferguson was an inconsequential politician who, when asked what his foreign policy was, replied: "Beat Michigan." This witticism, at a time when all America was concerned with the cold war, hardly gave Ohio voters confidence in labor's judgment. Yet it never occurred to the union leaders that they might be licked. Nor did they realize, even after Taft's re-election, that their essentially "status quo" program for a long-dead New Deal had little glamour for vast new segments of American voters. The leaders thought that Taft's victory proved they hadn't worked hard enough, hadn't brought enough voters to the polls. It didn't dawn on them that there might be a youth vote, that 4,000,000 new voters had come on the scene in the last ten years; that there was a woman's vote, even in a union household. In fact, labor was so sure that it could win simply by ringing more doorbells that it saw Adlai Stevenson as a sure victor over Eisenhower in 1952. Even the cautious A. F. of L. abandoned its non-partisan straddle long enough to endorse its first major-party Presidential candidate.



Walter Reuther

The 1952 elections became a turning point for the labor movement on two fronts, organizational and political. After a moment of shocked realization that the New Deal was gone forever, influential labor leaders like George Meany and Walter Reuther saw the necessity of immediate labor unity. The approach to this goal in December of 1955 must be understood as a major defensive move on the part of labor. In its own way, it testifies to labor's failure in the arena of national politics. The unification of the C. I. O. and A. F. of L. under the pressure of political ineffectiveness is a marriage of diplomacy, not one of love. There are many grounds for conflict within what may soon become one union movement.

Labor has developed new political acumen. There is reason to believe that not all labor leaders would now agree with James L. McDevitt that "Any fellow who thinks we can better ourselves by staying out of politics is talking the way that the N. A. M. wants him to talk. In 1947 the membership of the A. F. of L. climbed to 7,600,000 workers, the greatest number in our history. Yet despite our strength the infamous Taft-Hartley Act was passed that year. How did this happen? That's easy. We had strength—but we didn't use it. Too many talked and too few acted. As a result we are paying through the nose in 1955 for our disinterest in the elections of 1946 and 1952." This repetition of the Taft alibi makes no sense in view of the size of the 1952 vote. The big turnout elected Eisenhower. Furthermore, various unions have since checked up on the voting attitudes of their own members; the U. A. W., to take one example, found that 25 per cent of the secondary leaders and an even greater number of the rank and file had voted for Eisenhower. Just getting out the vote is obviously not the answer.

BUT IF large parts of labor have learned what won't work, there is no clear evidence that it knows yet what will. The 1955 unification move is, we repeat, essentially a defensive tactic, dictated by the 1952 debacle. Labor still lacks faith in its own ideas, its influences, and its powers. Its spokesmen say, "We can't deliver the labor vote." They are still resigned to their role as second-class citizens in the Democratic Party. The illness of President Eisenhower, it must be admitted, has given a boost to labor's political morale. And now everyone is feeling more cheerful because of trends detected in the November 8 elections. As a result a new unified labor movement will carry on political

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activity at a level of intensity seldom seen in this country.

The question remains: Can labor ever reach its political goals by continuing to act as tail for the Democratic Party? Is there any evidence that the dilemmas that have perplexed labor in the last twenty years have decreased? Backed by a growing rebellion in the farm states and by the combined forces of the labor movement, the Democratic Party may very well win in 1956. But labor leaders cannot look forward to that victory with unmixed jubilation. Why should a new Democratic Congress act any better than the present one on key issues affecting the labor movement? Is Adam Clayton Powell likely to get more cooperation on F. E. P. C. than he does now? Does any labor leader seriously expect that victorious Democrats would repeal or basically amend the Taft-Hartley law? And how can the labor movement appeal to the general public when its foreign policy is no different from the Administration's?

To question still more deeply, can labor's economic program, which is essentially "guns and butter"—more defense with more social gains—stand the test of experience? In the 1952 elections labor's leaders gave unqualified support of the Democratic Party record, including Korea. This ran counter to the sentiment of a large segment of the rank and file, which yearned for peace and a new approach to world politics. The dissatisfaction helped Eisenhower and may well help the Republicans in 1956.

Can a unified labor movement be more effective in politics? More to the point, *should* labor be more effective in politics? In theory, a unified labor movement will set up housekeeping in well-cleaned quarters. If, as promised, corruption and racketeering are driven out of some sections of the labor movement, the American people will listen more attentively to labor's denunciation of Republican corruption and favoritism. If the discriminatory A. F. of L. unions let down their barriers, the Negro population will take more stock in the union champions of civil liberties. But not if the leaders continue to swallow the conservative and Dixiecrat tendencies in the Democratic Party. Senator Kefauver's phenomenal rise to national prominence is as much proof as anyone should need that large sectors of the American public, including union's rank and file, are tired of bossism and dictation from above. Will a united labor movement be sufficiently democratic to restore the confidence of its own members in the ideas and policies of the newly combined leadership?

And last, is labor capable of a self-appraisal and analysis candid enough to expose the reasons for its past defeats? Is it willing to educate new leaders and to suggest fresh ideas that can meet the problems confronting everybody in an epoch of world tensions and in a society that is restless, uncertain, and changing almost from day to day?

Labor and the Cold War

THE TWO great American labor federations were scheduled to unite at a time when profound changes in the international scene are everywhere compelling a reevaluation of past policies. To many observers it seems that the cold war—or at least its more freezing aspects—has come to a close. The Western monopoly of nuclear and thermonuclear weapons has been broken; now the threat of atomic annihilation is faced by all nations equally. The Afro-Asian conference at Bandung last spring symbolized the rising tide of nationalism and anti-colonialism which is flooding great areas of the world. The "spirit of Geneva" was in turn a symbol of the vast popular demand for the secure establishment of world peace.

Under these circumstances there is full agreement among A. F. of L. and C. I. O. leaders that foreign-policy matters must be given major attention by a merged organization. This would be no more than the logical continuation of a trend which has been perceptible in the labor movement for more than a decade. From isolationism in the early 1930's, labor has been swinging steadily toward internationalism and increased involvement in questions of foreign policy.

Organized labor grew immensely during World War II both in status and in numbers. The A. F. of L., recovering from the challenge of the C. I. O., emerged in the postwar period twice the size of its younger competitor and securely established as the dominant labor branch. The war years constituted a period of relative labor-management peace, with the government becoming arbiter of wages and working conditions. The intimacy between organized labor and government thus established carried into the postwar years and paved the way for labor's active support of the government's foreign policies.

General George Marshall

At the war's end the A. F. of L. wasted neither words nor time in stating its opposition to the idea of Big Three unity, a policy which it has maintained without compromise to the present day. During the A. F. of L.'s 1946 convention, the Executive Council stated:

> The U. S. S. R. and its subordinate "friendly" nations are not interested in making peace but in utilization of the peace forum as well as the occupation of conquered territory as opportunities to extend the control of the Communist Party and expand a despotism as cruel and bloody as any recorded in history.

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The convention revealed the existence of a "secret" but undeniably major international labor apparatus in support of the cold war. President William Green introduced Irving Brown as the A. F. of L.'s European representative who had spent the previous eleven months making contacts with trade unionists in Western Europe. In his report to the convention, Mr. Brown leaped to the attack: "I say that the irreconcilable conflict in Europe today is the conflict between democracy and totalitarianism and it is our job . . . to lend every possible aid to . . . the free trade-union movement." Mr. Brown called for the speedy rebuilding of Germany with no reference to denazification or the elimination of cartels. In this, the A. F. of L. was ahead of official United States policy, which was then still tied to the Potsdam agreement for denazifying, decartelizing, and demilitarizing Germany.

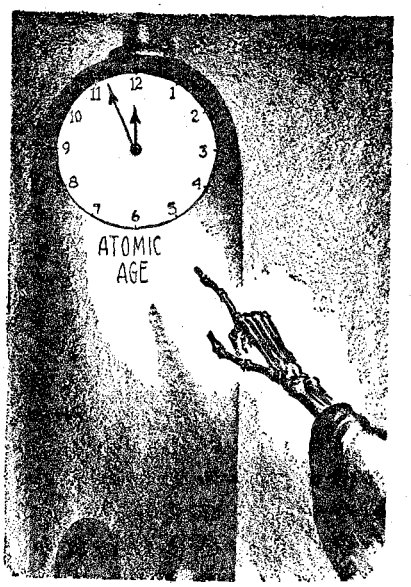
JAY Lovestone, a former founder and head of the American Communist Party, exerted a powerful guiding influence on the postwar operations of the A. F. of L. in the foreign field. Since 1944 he has been the executive secretary of the federation's Free Trade Union Committee; he is also director of international labor relations for David Dubinsky's International Ladies Garment Workers Union. Irving Brown and other A. F. of L. agents like him are serving under the guidance of Lovestone. They have spent large amounts of money in an attempt to win over labor unions throughout the world to our side in the cold war.

Veteran labor reporter Edwin A. Lahey recently reported that "Lovestone's office in New York is a 'drop' for the world-wide system of intelligence agents who keep him up to date on affairs behind the iron curtain both in Europe and in Asia. Lovestone insists that there is no formal connection between him and the Department of State. But it can be said without qualification that the C. I. A., headed by Allen Dulles, brother of the Secretary of State, has in recent years obtained much of its primary information about international communism from Lovestone." (Washington *Post*, August 21.)

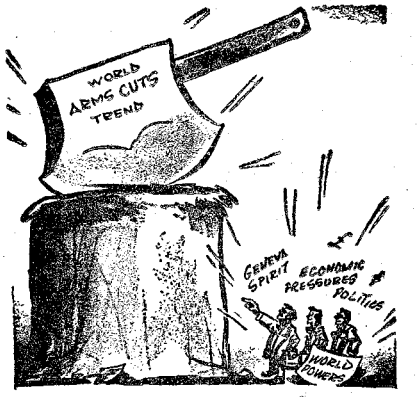
As for the C. I. O., its 1947 convention in Boston was the turning point. Sharp conflict arose on the question of the Marshall Plan. There was general agreement that the United States should assist needy nations; the issue was whether the aid should be given within the framework of Big Three unity via the U. N. and UNNRA, or within the framework of a "free-world" bloc aimed at containment or perhaps even liberating the Soviet bloc. In the end the "free-world" idea won unanimous approval and the C. I. O. moved to partnership with the A. F. of L. in supporting the government's cold-war policy.

Big guns were brought into play to achieve this result. Boston's Archbishop Cushing, delivering the opening address, gave not the usual benediction but a major speech. He warned the convention against "potential traitors to America and to our organizations in the labor movement," and called upon the C. I. O. for support of "such points and plans of American foreign policy as will put our resources—food, money, coal, clothing, friendship, and faith" behind the democratic nations in the "war on hunger, poverty, cold, discouragement, and fear in the war-breeding areas of the world."

Three days later, for the first time in American history, a Secretary of State, General George Marshall, appeared to address an American labor convention. Marshall spoke briefly, with dignity, discretion, and great effect. He called for wholehearted support of his plan, which had not yet been drawn up in detail



Fitzpatrick in St. Louis Post-Dispatch
The hour is late



Partymiller in York Gazette and Daily
It matters little what you call it

by the Administration or by Congress. He warned: "We are faced with the danger of the actual disappearance of the characteristics of Western civilization on which our government and our manner of living depend." A few minutes later, the convention debated its foreign-policy plank, a resolution which so adroitly combined old and new positions of the C. I. O. that it eventually won unanimous support.

The entire labor movement was now lined up as an ally of the State Department and in support of a bipartisan policy aimed at mobilizing the "free world," under American leadership, against the Russian "threat."

There remained some highly interesting mopping-up operations, especially by the C. I. O. The controversy over the Marshall Plan became the issue on which both the C. I. O. and the British Trades Union Congress left the World Federation of Trade Unions. It was also a crucial issue, together with the related Wallace campaign of 1948, in the C. I. O.'s expulsion of eleven Left-orientated unions in 1949. In the same year the A. F. of L. and the C. I. O. joined with the British T. U. C. to form the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions in competition with the W. F. T. U. The State Department now moved quickly to appoint labor representatives to the staffs of various American embassies and foreign missions.

Since the end of the Korean war, public pressure for peace has mounted steadily. The implied (and kept) promise of Eisenhower to end the conflict in Korea revealed the political power of the peace issue. The trial balloon sent up to test

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the acceptability of American intervention to save French colonial rule in Indo-China was quickly shot down.

It is true that only three Senators finally voted against the Presidential request earlier this year for power to wage war to save the Quemoy and Matsu islands from Chinese Communist invasion. Public opposition to the request, however, was overwhelming. The New York *Times* correspondent James Reston reported:

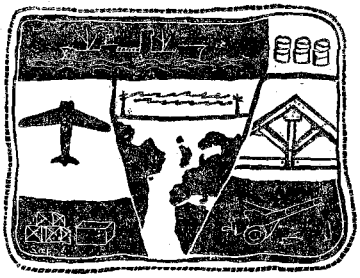
> The reaction throughout the country against getting involved in a war over Matsu and Quemoy has been so strong that the President has felt he had to take it into account. . . . This anti-war sentiment also has had an influence on Republican political leaders, who are urging that the most effective appeal in the next year's Presidential campaign will be for the Republicans to go to the country as peacemakers. . . .

Last winter a Gallup poll showed that of all Americans who had an opinion on the issue, peaceful coexistence was favored by nearly 3 to 1. Great church organizations—led as usual by the courageous and principled Quakers—such as the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church, the General Conference of the Methodist Church, and the World Council of Churches spoke out for their members in behalf of peaceful coexistence through negotiation.

But powerful forces in the country are opposing the trend to peace. The Republican leader in the Senate, Knowland of California, speaks for them when, in direct opposition to President Eisenhower, he charges that the Administration is appeasing world communism by accepting the "Soviet Trojan horse of coexistence."

Where, in this conflict of views, does organized labor stand? The A. F. of L., as represented by its Executive Council and President George Meany, stands with Knowland in aggressive opposition to the concept of coexistence. Speaking this year at the annual convention of the New York State A. F. of L., Mr. Meany expressed the fear that the Eisenhower Administration was substituting "massive appeasement" for its old doctrine of "massive retaliation." He urged that the United States reject "coexistence with gangsters." Again, addressing the American Legion convention last month, he assailed the "Geneva spirit" and brought the Legionnaires to their feet with an attack on the State Department for permitting "cultural exchanges" with Russia. He pledged that no trade-union delegations would visit the Soviet Union.

As early as 1952 the A. F. of L. was moving very close to open advocacy of war in the Far East. It urged official involvement of American military forces in both the Indo-China and Malayan conflicts. Early this year its Executive Council made



a special plea to the West German Trade Union Federation to end its opposition to German rearmament—a plea which, incidentally, was firmly rejected by that strong anti-Communist body despite the best efforts of Messrs. Brown and Lovestone.

Nearly one-fifth of the Executive Council's report to the 1954 A. F. of L. convention directly touched foreign affairs. In it the council opposes colonialism and the United States pact with Spain, but the dominant theme of the report is the all-out crusade against the world "Communist menace" and the concept of coexistence. The report, which was unanimously approved by the convention, states that ". . . Geneva marks the culminating tragedy of all the many political, economic, and military mistakes made by the free world in the last decade." Nehru, Tito, Aneuran Bevan, and Ernest T. Wier are singled out as examples of dupes of the Soviet "peace line." The "new Soviet look," the report concludes, should lead to renewed effort by the United States to gain and hold allies in the cold war for a new offensive against the Soviet Union.

While the C. I. O.'s basic anti-Soviet orientation since 1947-48 is unquestioned, it has taken a back seat to the A. F. of L. in international operations; the crucial European field has been left exclusively to Lovestone and Brown. But there is evidence that the C. I. O. has been troubled by some of the consequences of the cold war. For example, John W. Livingston, vice president of the U. A. W., slated to be director of organizations in the merged A. F. of L.-C. I. O., reported in 1950 after a European visit:

> The Marshall Plan has been a miserable failure insofar as skilled wage-earners in Germany, Italy, and France are concerned. Huge profits of companies whose plants have been rebuilt and rehabilitated by Marshall Plan funds, and extremely low wages, have lowered worker morale to make effective and convincing Communist propaganda.

Similarly the president of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers-C. I. O., Jacob Potofsky, who was scheduled to be co-chairman of the A. F. of L.-C. I. O. International Affairs Committee, said of the Marshall Plan in 1951: "Our money has been used primarily to strengthen the governments in power and the industrialists. The rich grow richer and the poor poorer."

The C. I. O. has vacillated on many foreign issues, reflecting its own doubts. When the Arbenz government was overthrown in Guatemala, the organization first expressed its antagonism to the military coup and then lapsed into discreet silence. At its convention last year it adopted a special resolution warning against the war dangers of the Knowland-China Lobby proposals concerning Formosa. A few months later, when Senators Lehman, Morse, and Langer, (all C. I. O.-endorsed) were locked in battle against the China Lobby program for the Quemoy and Matsu islands, the C. I. O. Executive Board, meeting in Washington at the time, uttered not a peep. Statements against colonialism, against deals with Fascist Spain, and Reuther's constructive and enlightened Positive Program for Peace have all lain dormant while the active and real impact of C. I. O. foreign policy has been to give approval to the cold-war policies of the State Department.

Within units of the A. F. of L. and the C. I. O., however, strong sentiment for peace and coexistence can be found. In November, 1954, the *Butcher Workman*, official magazine for the Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen- A. F.

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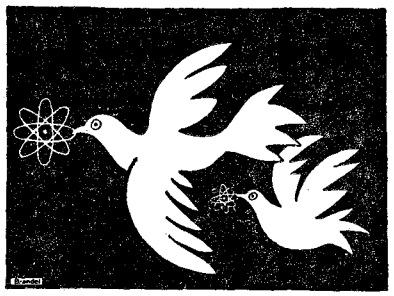
of L., edited by Patrick E. Gorman, said editorially:

> There are many, including the most forceful labor leader in the world today, President George Meany of the A. F. of L., who believe that coexistence with Russia is impossible. If this idea becomes the general thinking of the people of the United States then another world war is inevitable. In this era when uranium, hydrogen, and cobalt bombs are being stockpiled by the two great nations who know the secret of these monstrosities, we had better think twice before we definitely conclude that coexistence with Russia is out of the question. . . . This nation, as well as the nations of the world, must realize that the atom bomb is no longer the private property of any nation and if, as indicated herein, these monstrosities could destroy the human race, then we repeat again, it is COEXISTENCE OR NO-EXISTENCE.

The following month the publication of the Hotel and Restaurant Workers Union-A. F. of L. supported the stand of the *Butcher Workman* and added: "We can think of a lot of things that would be better for mankind than being blown together into a radioactive Outer Darkness, regardless of one's politics. One of them is quiet, unhurried collective bargaining, or diplomacy with everybody checking his shooting irons at the door."

Or consider the warning issued by the A. F. of L. paper, the *Colorado Labor Advocate,* just prior to the October foreign ministers' meeting in Geneva, that the ministers' task

Fitzpatrick in St. Louis Post-Dispatch
Slow but Sure



was "not rendered any easier by the undercurrent of distrust and cynicism." The paper expressed the hope that "Secretary of States Dulles and the United States delegation do not hearken to the voices of the all-or-nothing advocates who would just as soon provoke a world war as give in on a single point in the world game of give-and-take." And in October the annual convention of the Illinois A. F. of L., representing 900,000 workers, unanimously voted commendation to President Eisenhower for his efforts for peace at Geneva and urged continuing negotiations "on every possible level . . . in order to resolve the conflicts between East and West." This powerful A. F. of L. state body, underlining the peace issue in coming elections, urged that "labor-backed candidates for office become the best exponents of a genuine policy of peace in order to bring about the political defeat of those now in Congress and the Administration who oppose continuous negotiations to ease world tensions."

The February 1 issue of *Labor's Daily,* published by the International Typographical Union-A. F. of L., praised Senators Lehman, Morse, and Langer for their fight against the "blank check for war" in the Quemoy-Matsu islands and warned against the dangers of "preventive" war. The May issue of *Labor,* the publication of the railway workers' union, also supported the Morse-Lehman-Langer position and declared that "conciliatory moves" by both the Soviet Union and Communist China had sent a "wave of hesitant hope throughout the world."

Many C. I. O. unions, too, have shown an independent attitude toward foreign policy and the cold war. In February, 1952, when the Korean war was still raging, the International Executive Board of the United Packinghouse Workers of America-C. I. O., after what it termed a "searching discussion," adopted a statement entitled The Road Ahead which set forth the following formula for peace:

> . . . A prompt armistice and an end to the fighting in Korea; a political settlement by good-faith negotiations in the Far East including recognition and admission to the U. N. of the government which now actually represents the Chinese people and with which, realistically, such a settlement must be made; settlement of world issues by international negotiation; and international armament reduction.

When the threat of war grew intense around Formosa early this year Al Hartung, president of the International Woodworkers Union-C. I. O. and a member of the C. I. O. committee working out the A. F. of L.-C. I. O. merger agreement, told a convention of his union: "I don't want your sons to fight for the rotten, corrupt leadership of Chiang Kai-shek. . . . One of our greatest mistakes was support for the kind of leadership such as Chiang Kai-shek's. We did it in Korea and now we're doing it in Formosa." And in February the *C. I. O. Packinghouse Worker,* in an editorial entitled Formosa Folly, blasted those who, they said, were responsible for the increasing threat of war. They charged that ". . . the Administration's policy is booby-trapped in a dozen different ways. It cannot succeed in the long run and responsible leaders had better come forward promptly with a policy based on world-wide political realities instead of wishful thinking and hysterical anti-communism."

WHEN, in 1953, Adlai Stevenson made an appeal to keep open all channels to a negotiated agreement with the Soviet Union, the *Advance,* organ of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers-C. I. O., editorially praised his stand and said: "No matter how we despise communism, that is no excuse to slam the door to the conference room. That door must be kept open and we must continue entering the room in a dignified pursuit of resolving peacefully the differences that exist between the democratic world and Soviet dictatorship." The Textile Workers Union-C. I. O. echoed the sentiment: "Stevenson stressed what cannot be repeated too often—our country must make it clear to the world that our goal is peace; that if we possibly can, we want to live in harmony with the Russians, not to exterminate them."

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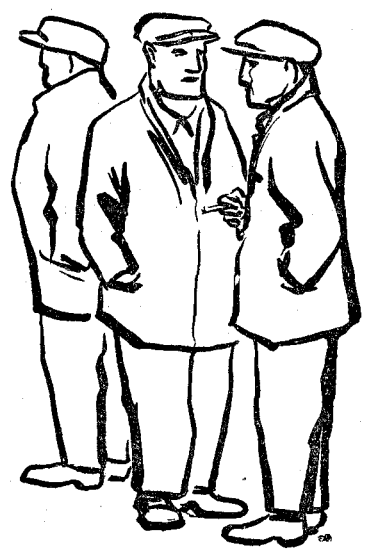
The August 1 issue of *Advance* reprinted in full the famous Russell-Einstein statement (signed also by seven other noted scientists) calling for a ban on war. It added a note of its own: "Today, more than ever, the quest for peace and an end to war is the one single goal of man, for today, man finally contains the means of his own complete destruction—the hydrogen bomb." Jacob Potovfsky, president of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, is slated to be co-chairman (with the A. F. of L.'s Matthew Woll) of the International Affairs Committee of the merged federations.

Thoughtful observers everywhere are suggesting that America's foreign policy is failing in its professed aims. The millions who are in search of peace have the right to look to the ranks of labor for support—and perhaps for leadership. Whether that challenge is met will depend on whether the drive toward peace, undeniably widespread through the rank and file of the labor movement, can break through the crust of a top-level policy which sees "containment" and "liberation" as more desirable goals than peaceful coexistence.

The Challenge of Automation

AUTOMATION, the rapidly expanding technique of replacing both skilled and unskilled workers by even more skilled and infinitely more productive machines, presents labor and the national economy with their major future problem. While automation is essentially only another phase in the advance of technology which has marked the industrial revolution since the beginning of the nineteenth century, the speed of its development and the magnitude of the labor displacement which it threatens creates apprehensions made even more vivid by memory of the technological displacements of the past.

It is not only that the hands of men are being replaced by more accurate machines, but the mind of man, hitherto an essential component of labor's skill, is being replaced by the electronic mind which does not make errors in its mental processes, and in which vacuum tubes replace man's fallible memory. The linking of the electronic mind in the form of the computer and its variations to the high-speed producing and assembling machines poses a threat similar to that of the steam loom of the early 1800's, but of such a difference in magnitude as to invite the comparison between the H-bomb and gunpowder.

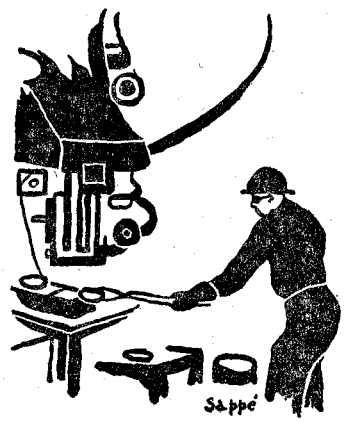


The modern union knows that the only possible orderly solution of the problem created by automation lies in continuing full employment, so that men displaced by machines can find other jobs. Since World War II, the prosperous economic environment has permitted individuals, for the most part, to shift to jobs in which they were interested. However, although our labor force is at present at an all-time high, trade unions have grave misgivings about the continuance of full employment. Fundamentally, they see that while our industrial production is 41 per cent above the years 1947-49, employment has risen only 8.3 per cent. October figures showed a rise in the employed, yet unemployment as calculated by the Bureau of the Census was reported at 2,100,000. Despite the high activity, jobs in manufacturing industries in September, 1955, were 600,000 fewer than in September, 1953—80,000 below in mining and 100,000 below in transportation, public utilities, and contract construction. Obviously man-hour productivity has been rising rapidly.

Prior to World War I, man-hour productivity increased at a rate of less than 1.5 per cent per annum. It was 2.5 per cent in the inter-war era. Since 1947 it has attained a level of over 3 per cent. There is every likelihood that it will rise to 4 per cent before the end of the decade and 5 per cent thereafter. To single out one industry: in textiles, where man-hour productivity has been growing at the rate of 5 per cent per annum and total output has been stationary, employment has dropped during the last five years from 1,250,000 to less than 1,000,000 —a decrease of 20 per cent.

Superimpose on this somewhat unstable structure the dislocation of modern automation, and we can see the problem in its bare essentials. Take, for example, an instance of "Detroit" automation which has so avidly been taken up by several large automobile manufacturers. In this system, a number of machines are linked together so that the material is automatically carried, positioned, and processed from one station to another in a continuous production flow. The new Milpital, California, Ford assembly plant, which uses this system, requires thirty man-hours per assembled car in contrast to the thirty-five man-hours at the older Richmond plant.

The dislocation process threatens the job security not only of the ordinary worker, but also of the highly skilled technician. For example, some of the major glass companies have developed machinery which detects flaws in the glass passing under



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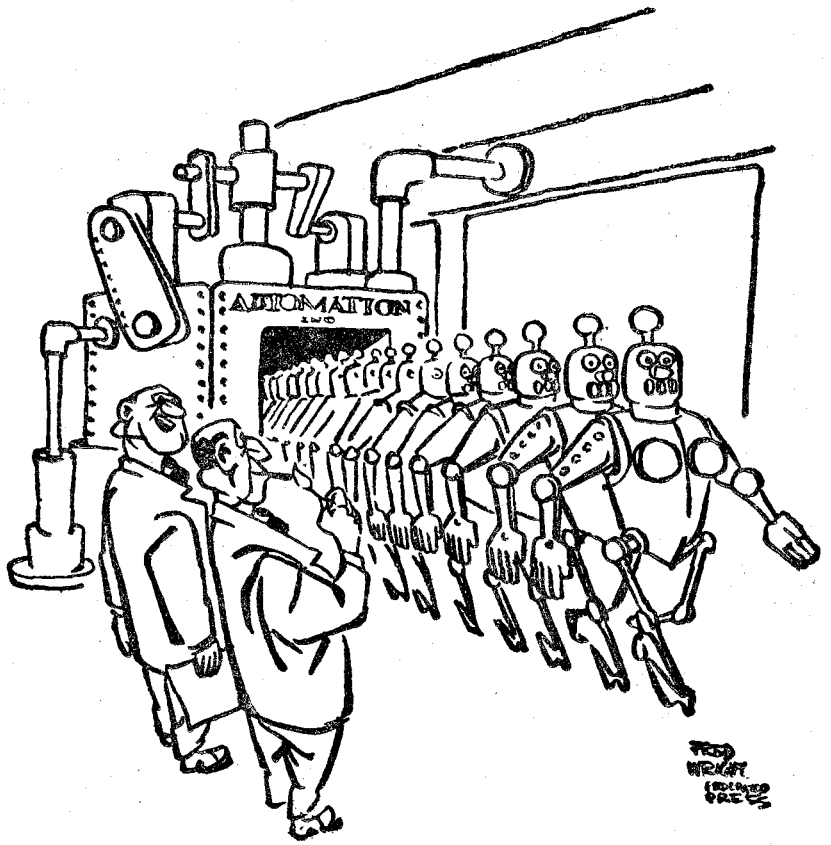
its electronic eyes. In the past, highly skilled workers have marked out with crayon those sections which must be cut from the flowing stream of glass to eliminate flaws. The accuracy of their markings and their experience in detection of flaws earned them high wage rates. Now the machines mark the flaws with even greater accuracy and with a saving of all the labor previously engaged on the job.

NOT ONLY manufacturing companies, but banks, insurance companies, railroads, airlines, and public utilities are moving to automation to increase rapidity of calculation and facilitate business decisions. Centralized warehouses are able to cut labor costs by 50 per cent and space by 25 per cent. New military uses, of course, have utilized these same techniques in guided missiles, radar control, and submarine detection. The newest application of tape controls of machine tools is opening up varied industrial applications.

This enormous increase in productivity which will give us more goods and services at lower costs poses a lesser threat if consumer demand keeps pace, and there is no doubt that consumer habits are changing rapidly. The American consumer has been adding to the dynamics of our economy. He has moved to the suburbs and changed his way of life. As a home-owner, he has turned to a myriad of do-it-yourself activities. The television has tied him to his living room, and vacations have added to his desire for transportation and mobility. He is more than ever susceptible to fads and new crazes. In the postwar years the growth of the Southeast and Southwest has opened up new markets and new industry has settled there. So long as the present level of high profit and full employment is maintained, we can expect the American citizen to consume more and more.

But the lessons of history are against complacent acceptance of the "high plateau" theory, i. e., that increased consumption will keep abreast of high production. The tragedies of the first industrial revolution are being studied in the schoolroom by our children. The depression of 1929-33 was associated with technological displacement. Innovations and technical obsolescence



Federated Press

"And this will cut down the demand for a Labor Day holiday, too"

are no guaranties of high employment, and new technology often discourages investment for fear of rapid obsolescence and the necessity for accelerated depreciation. And if lower employment and decreased earnings retard consumer spending, the "plateau" will tilt sharply downward.

Furthermore, the task of maintaining full employment is a staggering one. We must provide employment for many of the 2,100,000 currently employed who want jobs, and in addition we must also annually create enough new jobs to absorb the 800,000 new workers who join the labor force each year. And new jobs must be provided for the more than two million workers who have to change occupations yearly because of the rising productivity which we have been discussing.

That automation and its increased productivity and displaced personnel will raise grave problems needs no further elaboration or proof, but the question of what should be done to solve these problems must be answered.

Firstly, purchasing power must be kept high by a graduated-tax system that eliminates many of the present loopholes which favor property interests and which have reduced effectiveness in assuring an adequate balance in our income distribution. Rising wage levels secured through collective bargaining and national wage patterns can help to keep the balance, but there must be no oversight, as at present, of millions of potential consumers who, because they are not enjoying adequate increases in income, are limiting the ability of the economic system to respond to the challenge.

Secondly, the existing safeguards set up to protect purchasing power must be maintained and expanded. Unemployment insurance, old-age pensions, workmen's compensation, sickness benefits, and minimum wages are examples of balancing elements which have been built into our system through legislation. But in light of the increased need for purchasing power demanded by growing productivity, more liberal coverage and benefits are required. The unions are demanding higher rates for automated jobs, guaranteed

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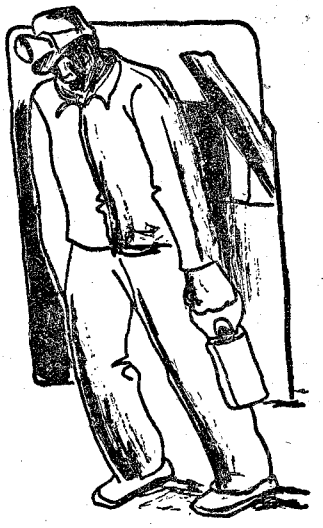
annual wages, and additional unemployment benefits. Earlier retirement benefits have been urged for the displaced who are unable to adjust themselves to the technological revolution. Severance pay and early vested private pension systems can help to cushion bumps of a highly dynamic society.

Thirdly, theories of labor seniority will have to be restudied because individual workers will suddenly find their lifetime investments in their skills are worthless. Seniority systems will have to call for greater degree of transferability from plant to plant; for the highly skilled worker, unlike in the past, stands in as much or more danger of displacement by the vacuum tube and the servo unit as his less skilled coworker.

Finally, the shorter work week, the classic answer to increased productivity, deserves new study and new emphasis. A shorter than forty-hour work week is already prevalent in coal mining, rubber, building, and women's apparel, but leadership in this field must now be exercised by unions in the mass-production industries. The thirty-hour week has already become a popular battlecry among the A. F. of L. craft unions, and the newly unified labor movement will no doubt take up this issue as the most effective method of preventing productivity from completely overbalancing distribution. The shorter work week, with its attendant opportunities for developing additional consumer demands by reason of greater opportunities for leisure, presents the best single answer to automation.



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BOOKS

Defining the True University

THE DEVELOPMENT OF ACADEMIC FREEDOM IN THE UNITED STATES. By Richard Hofstadter and Walter P. Metzger. Columbia University Press. $5.50.
ACADEMIC FREEDOM IN OUR TIME. By Robert M. MacIver. Columbia University Press. $4.

By H. H. Wilson

THANKS to the initiative of an American business man, those seeking to understand a major aspect of our intellectual development are given access to two useful volumes. Mr. Louis M. Rabinowitz of New York, recalling stimulating discussions in his youth with representatives of various philosophical and political faiths, and deeply troubled by contemporary anti-intellectualism, conceived and financed the American Academic Freedom Project at Columbia University. It is perhaps a comment on our times that Mr. Rabinowitz approached more than one university before finding one willing to undertake the study.

Hofstadter and Metzger provide historical perspective for the description of freedom and enterprise in contemporary college and university. Theirs is the first detailed account of this phase of American intellectual and social history. Though Professor Hofstadter modestly disclaims its adequacy, most readers will find his summary of the experience of Western European universities a brilliantly concise and perceptive essay. He relates the corporate position of the universities to the social structure of the Middle Ages, explains the meaning of intellectual freedom for the individual scholar, describes the techniques utilized to circumvent authority in the pursuit of truth, and outlines the slow development of toleration and religious freedom, essential forerunners of academic freedom.

The remainder of the historical volume describes unique characteristics of American development. Part One, Hofstadter's responsibility, deals with the prehistory of academic freedom up to the Civil War, and Part Two traces the development of the modern university. A majority of the colleges were sponsored by religious denominations, with some slight state supervision, and until secularization occurred there could be no conception of intellectual freedom.

From the beginning the colleges were controlled by non-resident boards, with the president as spokesman for absentee proprietors. Legally this is still the situation in most institutions, though in practice trustees of the leading private institutions have delegated considerable power to their faculties. Hofstadter believes that this "lay government has been one of the most decisive factors in the problem of academic freedom in America."

APPARENTLY the founders of Harvard and of William and Mary had intended to follow the Oxford-Cambridge pattern of faculty government, but this was impossible because "there was as yet no teaching profession." In the subsequent development, Yale and Princeton, rather than the first two colonial colleges, became the models for the American system of control.

Though it pays little direct attention to students, the book makes the point that freedom of thought was first explicitly formulated as religious freedom for students. The colleges were competing for enrollment and could not afford to antagonize members of any denomination. Teachers were still expected to conform to religious orthodoxy and to reflect the views of the trustees. Prior to the Civil War there was no clear formulation of the concept of academic freedom.

Under the impact of Darwinism after the Civil War and the resultant challenge to religious authority, and under the influence of the German university, the goals of the American colleges drastically shifted. From conserving institutions they were slowly transformed into centers for scholarly research, even though they were never able to outgrow their parental role. Metzger suggests that this transition was speeded by "the unhinging of moral certainties by urban living, the fading out of the evangelical impulse, the depersonalization of human relations in the process of industrial expansion." And these deeper social forces destroyed "that integral vision, that firm and assertive credulity, required of institutions devoted to conservation." With the growth of scientific education came a rationale of academic freedom, a concept of scientific competence, which encouraged resistance to administrative abuses and the recognition of academic freedom as a positive value.

Next in importance to the influence of evolutionary science was the fact that some "nine thousand Americans studied at German universities in the nineteenth century." They brought home with them the conception of the university as a research center, and many of these men played a prominent part in the establishment of major graduate schools or departments. Though modified by American notions of the proper function of education, the chief German contribution remained intact: "the assumption that academic freedom, like academic searching, *defined* the true university."

PROFESSOR MACIVER addresses himself to the questions: "Why should a people that prides itself on democracy and its love of liberty be so embroiled in troubles where the liberty of learning and of teaching is concerned? Why are there so many more cases here than in the democratic countries of Europe?" He believes that the answer is to be found in the relation between two distinct phenomena: the unique form of academic government and the character of public opinion. Because of the multigroup character of American society the sense of common interest tends to be shallow. Democracy and freedom are interpreted in an individualistic, competitive way almost totally lacking in ethical or spiritual content. Education is looked upon as essentially instrumental or functional. The school system easily becomes a device for

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indoctrination, a means for producing cheerleaders for the status quo. Much of the current controversy over schools and colleges is, therefore, an argument over the content of the indoctrination. Education, the communication of knowledge, the pursuit of truth, the development of analytical intelligence becomes suspect. In the absence of well-established traditions subscribed to by the whole population, demagogic appeals get a hearing. "The education which our youth, and through them the people, receive in 'civics' and kindred subjects is often conventional, superficial and pseudo-historical." We have failed to convey an adequate understanding of basic democratic principles. We seem rather, as Learned Hand suggests, to have "deliberately systematized the production of epidemics in ideas."

IN THE United States the authority structure of education includes legislatures, boards of trustees, presidents and administrative officials. Behind them are other groups—parents, fund raisers, alumni—which exert influence if not power over the educational system. This is in sharp contrast to the position of universities in European democracies where, as Professor Anatol Murad has written, "The faculty runs the university and is the university." Under the American pattern university trustees and administrators have a major responsibility to resist encroachment on the university's function. With a few notable exceptions, those in authority have capitulated and "even aided and abetted the attack." It is also true that faculties have too often failed to rally to the defense of their colleagues.

Perhaps John Jay Chapman was too harsh in commenting that "the average professor in an American college will look on at an act of injustice done to a brother professor . . . with the same unconcern as the rabbit who is not attacked watches the ferret pursue his brother up and down through the warren to predestinate and horrible death." But he was certainly justified in concluding that the professor must teach the nation to respect learning and the functions of the university. However strong his reluctance to enter the arena, he withdraws from defense of civil liberties, including academic freedom, at the risk of permitting the destruction of his reason for being.

Professor MacIver's discussion of the crucial decision to ban Communist teachers will leave many readers dissatisfied. We may all share his conclusion that this is a most difficult problem on which "men of the highest integrity, scholarship, and regard for academic freedom take opposite sides." Nevertheless, in attempting to distinguish between "the problem of *appointment* and the problem of *dismissal*" it seems to this reviewer that Professor MacIver has deserted a basic principle on which the doctrine of academic freedom rests: the professional competence of the individual scholar. Once this standard of judgment is abandoned the defense of academic freedom becomes a matter of expedience or convenience. It is unconvincing to argue that "no principle of academic freedom is directly violated" when a college refuses to hire a Communist. Surely this is to apply standards other than those of scholarly competence. And it would seem to contradict the statement that "to oust a scholar for his views, not for any legal crime or serious moral obliquity, is a betrayal of the ideals of the university." Does not the *automatic* ban on the employment of Communists or representatives of any other doctrine, in effect, oust the scholar from the practice of his profession? This is an academic discussion, for the fact is that probably no university in the Western world today, and precious few in any period, would consider an avowed Communist for appointment to the faculty. What is important is that by taking this position Professor MacIver is forced to rely on expedience or convenience to justify the retention of a teacher who is known to be a Communist. The demoralization of the university community as a result of such action, he argues, would be more harmful than retention of the teacher.

Whatever conclusion one may reach on this and other debatable points in the analysis, we may be grateful to Professor MacIver and his associates for a painstaking work of significant scholarship.

Enough Water to Go Around

WHY NOT SURVIVE? By Michael W. Straus. Simon and Schuster. $4.

By Thomas J. Hamilton

MR. STRAUS'S twenty years of high office in the Department of the Interior have given him an unrivaled knowledge of what the United States is doing and is leaving undone to conserve its natural resources. Moreover, the Reclamation Bureau, which he headed in his last years in government service, has been extremely far-sighted in helping other nations to solve their conservation problems.

Unlike many of the champions of conservation, Mr. Straus is no prophet of doom. Though one third of the world's people go to bed hungry every night, though the waste of natural resources continues, and though the increase of population is so great that it counterbalances the gains that are being made, he is convinced that there is a solution. The answer, of course, is to be sensible about the dwindling supplies of natural resources, and in particular to be sensible about water, which in many ways is the key to the problem of survival, not only in the United States but in most countries of the globe. For if water is not used it simply runs off into the sea, carrying the top soil with it.

Mr. Straus is an unrepentant New Dealer and advocate of public power, and is scathing in his attack upon the private-power lobby, which under the Eisenhower Administration apparently is making considerable headway in its attack upon what it (and the President) is pleased to call "creeping socialism." But the important thing is that the work of harnessing the rivers of the West should go on. Whatever a reader's views on the private versus public power controversy, he should be convinced by the author's explanation of the constantly increasing need for water for industrial as well as domestic use that somehow the controls must be installed.

That means Easterners primarily, for there is hardly a citizen of the seventeen Western states served by

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the Reclamation Bureau who needs to be told that water is important. The parochialism of Easterners is understandable up to a point. But New York City is itself feeling the pinch, and is constantly being forced to range further afield, into Pennsylvania or wherever it can go, to bring in the water for its increasing millions.

These are simple truths that somehow fail to arouse public interest until it is too late. Mr. Straus has written this account of the need for conservation with a salty humor that ought to shake the public inertia. The first necessity, of course, is to arouse public interest and support for a conservation program; the second is to develop a coordinated program which will take into account the complexities of social and economic change.

For example, it is a poor service to a backward country to improve its health facilities if nothing is done to provide additional food to take care of increased population. As Mr. Straus points out, the improvements in water supply and hygiene introduced by the United States into Puerto Rico resulted in many more mouths to feed, and no additional food. And he even reproves the zeal of some Reclamation Bureau engineers, who have no sooner finished installing a dam than they go off to install another one, without stopping to survey the economic and social changes produced by the first.

Muscles and Manners

SELECTED POEMS. By Roy Campbell. Henry Regnery Company. $6.50.

COLLECTED POEMS, 1955. By Robert Graves. Doubleday and Company. $4.50.

By John Ciardi

ROY CAMPBELL'S "Selected Poems" appear in his fifty-third year and offer themselves as a sort of retrospective show that might accurately be billed as Three Decades of the Muscle Man. No poet writing in English has equaled Campbell's violence, though Robinson Jeffers must be entered in the competition. None has presented a mind—to me at least—more despicable, a mind compounded of storm-trooper arrogance, *Sieg Heil* piety, and a kind of Nietzschean rant sometimes mixed with a ponderously uncomical sense of satire.

The center of that mind—and of its poetic style—is all sledgehammers. It would be comforting to one's sense of liberalism to report that the result is all merely thud-thud. What must be reported instead is that the sledgehammers are sometimes magnificent as in the description of a dawn seen in the eyes of Campbell's magnificent Albatross:

> Then through the gloom wherein, like tiny spiders
> Webbed in their flimsy rays, the systems spawn,
> Up dim blue rocks of cloud, with scarlet fibres,
> Crawled the gigantic lichens of the dawn.

But if this adulation of brute splendor shines as a magnificence in the physical world, the same muscularity applied to human orders becomes a disaster. No poet in English has come nearer composing the entire litany for the storm trooper—the mystique of the superman, the paean to muscular arrogance, even the sentimental piety of the romantic thug. So, in the Dedication to Mary Campbell, the poet is described as born of his own disdain, emerging from the rabble to live by sterner laws and a god superbly stronger; he is plotted against and hated by the small ones, is murdered at last by their leaden blows, but dies trailing his scorn and knowing that in death the Valkyrie will descend to him. So in To a Pet Cobra:

> I too can hiss the hairs of men erect
> Because my lips are venomous with truth.

So in A Song for the People:

> Could they be crushed the deeper in the slime
> When forth we ride elate with bloody heels
> Or jingle in the silver spurs of rhyme?

Small wonder that Campbell fought for Franco; only the accident

JOHN CIARDI teaches at Rutgers. His "AS IF, Poems New and Selected" was published in September.

• Shape-Up and Hiring Hall

By Charles P. Larrowe

How the two vastly different methods of hiring casual labor on the East and West Coast ports influence collective bargaining relationships, union structure, and the welfare of rank-and-file longshoremen. A social, economic, and political analysis of a controversial basic industry with particular emphasis on developments on the New York and Seattle waterfronts. An important contribution to our knowledge of the function of labor markets.

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Another Open letter

Dear Nation Reader,
The "Labor Issue" of The Nation is an excellent occasion to announce the publication on November 21, of Labor's Untold Story, a one-volume history of labor "with its teeth and claws left in." This is not an antiseptic account of this big story, but an account which shows how the struggle between classes in America has been fought, who fought it, who led it, what weapons of persuasion were used—on both sides, and the relationship of organized labor's struggle to the main line of American history.
Labor's story is largely untold because working men and women have seldom written labor history. This book tries, with scholarly regard for facts and interpretation, to tell the story of unions and labor struggles, not from the lofty "objective" view which is either the last resort of professors who have not made up their minds or that of those whose minds have been made up for them, but from the embattled viewpoint of the men and women who have done the nation's work. It makes refreshing, informative, and highly useful reading in these times.

LABOR'S UNTOLD STORY

by Richard O. Boyer and Herbert M. Morais 4.75

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of writing in the wrong language could have kept him from being drafted as Poet Laureate of the Third Reich.

"A poetic tornado," as Edith Sitwell calls him? At least that, or perhaps the wind seems more impressive when it blows through the chinks of the Stately Homes. "A poet of genius," as Dylan Thomas called him? Beyond argument: Campbell can make an English line hammer beyond belief, or tune a simple and persuasive lyric. Yet in everything his limitations are inescapable. A bull can startle, but no bull sings entirely like a man. In time one tires of so much noise, and in art there is no apology for boredom.

ROBERT GRAVES is no such muscled monster and one turns to him in delight, but only to end uncertain. If Campbell concentrates on beating the drums with now and then a sentimental tootle on the flute, Graves wanders lightly through the entire orchestra, trying out all the instruments, often stunning the listener with his virtuosity, but never quite able to settle on one instrument and play it for all it is worth and a bit more. We are charmed by Graves, relaxed and grateful. We even find ourselves jumping to our feet to applaud. But always the music stops just short of the true and final impossible. We recall that we have attended a performance, a grand performance. What we have not experienced is that final opening of the air, that swallows all difference.

Of the two poets it is certainly Graves I prefer to curl up with and it is certainly Graves I shall return to more often and more happily. But all in good time, all in good temper, all in good grace. It can wait. Why? I think what I am laboring to say is that a poem with no despair in it is insufficiently plumbed. The despair is humanly there in Graves, but I suspect it of being half literary, a despair too well-mannered to reach through.

Nothing is more characteristic of poetry than the variety of excellences possible within it. It is not strange, therefore, in the end to conclude that these two poets, so opposite in their merits and limitations, seem to emerge as equals in stature and achievement. Both are impressive, both have clearly found their place in English letters. And both succumb to limitations—however different in kind—that must certainly keep them out of the first row or the second in whatever Pantheons may be.

We're Only Beginning . . .

According to editorial writers, columnists, business leaders and many politicians — even including those with the best of intentions— the labor movement has now "come of age" and is "accepted" as a permanent part of American life. **We wish they were right.**

True, some 15 million American workers will be represented at the unity convention of AFL-CIO – but some 30 million other industrial workers will not. Only one-third of the workers who fall within the jurisdiction of existing unions have achieved their right to organize and bargain collectively.

We have reason to know these figures for they are duplicated in our own industry. We represent about one-third of the nation's textile workers. **The others have seen their efforts to organize frustrated, all too often, by employers who not only refuse to "accept" unionism but express their refusal with coercion, intimidation and violence.**

Yes, the labor movement is strong, to the great benefit of workers and the nation. But even as we take pride in our strength, and in the forthcoming convention that will make us stronger, let us remember how great a task still lies before us. **In the truest sense, we are only beginning.**

Textile Workers Union of America, CIO

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The Cult of Absurdity

THE MYTH OF SISYPHUS AND OTHER ESSAYS. By Albert Camus. Translated from the French by Justin O'Brien. Alfred A. Knopf. $3.50.

By Jacob Korg

EXISTENTIALISM is the second philosophy of affirmative nihilism to emerge from France in wartime. During and after World War I, many French intellectuals expressed their dissatisfaction with civilization through the Dada and Surrealist movements. Dada was a form of organized artistic suicide; Surrealism, while it offered a remedy for the spiritual depravity of modern life, continued to recommend suicide as a particularly eloquent form of ironic protest. Albert Camus's existentialist essay, "The Myth of Sisyphus," continues and develops this tradition. Written in 1940, it begins with the deep pessimism about life in general that war is likely to arouse in sensitive minds. And it takes the problem of suicide to be the key to the problem of existence itself. Unlike his forerunners, however, Camus finds that the logical requirement of the human situation is not self-annihilation but self-fulfillment.

His argument begins with a premise that seems to him obvious and undeniable: that man is a stranger in a meaningless universe. The nonhuman and irrational world man lives in can be made intelligible, according to Camus, only if it is falsified by reduction to human terms. He condemns as cheating the process of going beyond knowledge in an effort to spare ourselves the sense of our isolation. And he dismisses as trickery ideals and beliefs which seek to make the universe coherent by imposing human values on it.

Camus courageously insists on a rigorous fidelity to his evidence, even when it leads him to the disquieting paradoxes inherent in his premise. Human beings know enough, he feels, to see that true knowledge is impossible for them. Thought must follow the rules of reason, but the only use of reason is that of proving its own limitations; ". . . reason is useless, and there is nothing beyond reason."

Camus's word for describing man's incongruous position is "absurd." For him, absurdity is the essential quality of life. It lies neither in man alone, nor in the universe alone, but arises when man and the universe are thrust together. The remedy is not suicide, which would merely dissolve the situation by eliminating one of the contradictory elements, thus repudiating reality, but full recognition of the absurdity of life. Once that conscious clarity has been achieved, Camus feels, man can make his absurdity a way of life rather than a source of suffering. Such a way of life would mean "permanent revolt" against the conditions of existence, "keeping the absurd alive." The absurd standard of conduct envisioned by Camus is another link with the Surrealists. They admired the *acte gratuit,* the pointless anti-social action which illustrated the irrationality of life. Camus's existentialism demands that man engage in a lifelong *acte gratuit,* an unceasing denial that the order of the universe has any claim upon him.

Thus, it grants anarchic freedom of action; but it involves responsibility for acting as well. The absurd man must become *"engage,"* as Sartre puts it; he must fulfill his humanity by a life rich in experiences, and in thus acting out his liberty, achieve a majestic superiority over the hostile universe which entraps him.

The prototype of the absurd man is Sisyphus, who, though he is condemned eternally to a useless task, has a moment of rest while he returns to the bottom of his hill to begin his labors again, in which he can consider his situation and become fully aware of it. By knowing his fate, says Camus, he rises above it. "There is no fate that cannot be surmounted by scorn."

According to Camus, action and artistic creation are valuable, not in themselves, but as illustrations of the absurd theme. The absurd man's realization of the "splendor and futility" of life is its own reward. This seems clear enough from Camus's novels. In both "The Stranger" and

JACOB KORG is a member of the Department of English at the University of Washington.

"I ain't never had nothing that wasn't mine by rights."

THE YANKEE who made that boast could carve out his own living on his own land and look to no man else to satisfy his needs. In our age of technological specialization, there is no such complete individual self-sufficiency. Yet in any age, having the basic things we need "by rights" is an essential element of human dignity and independence. How can we protect it in our interdependent society? What part should the government play?

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"The Plague" the horror of life makes an overwhelming impression, while the sense of their independent humanity achieved by the heroes of absurd revolt is almost pathetic. The protagonist of "The Stranger" begins as an unthinking clod who is unaware of the aimlessness of his life. When his unwilled crime and his terrible sufferings in prison bring him to a realization of the absurdity of things, he has the satisfaction of meeting his death with defiance. In gaining this lucidity he experiences a moment of incomparable life. But that does not save him from execution.

Camus compares his philosophy to a sick man's knowledge that he must learn to live with his ailments when they cannot be cured. It is not a fair parallel, for Camus tries, not merely to live with the absurd, but to make a guiding principle of it. Sartre has called existentialism a "coherent atheism" and a knowledge that life begins "on the far side of despair." Camus's scrupulous logic and aphoristic style create a kind of poetry of thought which give a fine expression to the atheism and the despair. But, as his acknowledgement that "The Myth of Sisyphus" is "personal" suggests, his philosophy will not succeed in taking most readers beyond them.

Reflection of Dewey

JOHN DEWEY. His Contribution to the American Tradition. By Irwin Edman. The Bobbs-Merrill Company. $3.50.

By Abraham Edel

THE EVALUATION of John Dewey's philosophy will, I suspect, extend over a constantly wider segment of American critical thought during the next generation. This will happen not only because of his acknowledged stature but because—and here lies its special importance—American life casts its philosophical reflection in Dewey's work. An evaluation thus constitutes peering into the mirror, not without anxiety, and it can accordingly become an achievement in self-consciousness.

For it may see in Dewey the American emphasis on activity and the practical, on growth and development, on individual self-reliance and shared experience. It will find American planlessness in his opposition to fixity. It will find the American forward-looking impulse and its perennial democratic creed widened into a conception of a way of life. It will find the confidence that intelligence, inherent in technological advance remodeling the form of life, need not remain a process alien to the human spirit. But it will also find that values and traditions have to be submitted to the critical play of the same intelligence—in short, a thorough-going naturalism in the view of man extending even into the interpretation of ethics and religion.

Responsible criticism still has much to do, in spite of the already considerable writing on Dewey, in taking apart these and other strands—to sharpen and evaluate each, estimate the peculiar unity that binds them together in Dewey's thought, locate the vague spots and the discrepancies and see what frustrations and contradictions in American life they reflect, and what gaps they leave in application. All this will take time, not only because Dewey's work is many-sided but also because its ideas have to be estimated in their fields of influential practice, especially education, as well as in their theoretical formulations. And a special part of the total task is to evaluate the criticisms levelled against Dewey in the present cultural conflicts; for even when extreme they raise questions worth facing. For example, when rightist criticism sees Dewey as a soft vestibule to Marxism, it is worth probing for a realistic picture of the precise and exact communities and differences in the two outlooks, and not resting on the fact of Dewey's frequent criticisms of Marxism. Similarly, when leftist criticism attacks Dewey's thought as expressive of bourgeois opportunism, it is worth exploring whether or at what precise points Dewey's formulations about the nature of principles as instruments do leave any openings for the intrusion of opportunism. All in all, such wider evaluation of Dewey's outlook has now become a necessary task, especially for a liberalism that seeks to hold a place in contemporary social thought.

The present volume in the "Makers of the American Tradition" series gives us selections from a half dozen of Dewey's books, dealing especially with his conception of philosophy, of man and his nature, of method, of culture and freedom, of education, religion, and democracy. The selections are for the most part in large chunks, reflecting amply Dewey's mode of philosophizing and the special flavor of his writing. It is proportionately fitting, too, that the selection on education occupies about a third of the book.

Irwin Edman's introductory essay, brief though it is—it was written shortly before his own untimely death—proves valuable in two quite different respects. It is, in the first place, a perceptive underscoring of central elements in Dewey's thought. Especially interesting here is Edman's insistence that Dewey's instrumentalism is not an endless pursuit of means, but gives due place to "consummations," shared experience in love, friendship, and art. This is a point to which Edman, with his own attentiveness to the esthetic phases of life, would be more critically sensitive. But in the second place, the essay provides data for the wider evaluation of Dewey that I have outlined above. For it shows very clearly what Dewey's philosophy meant to those who were near him as students, colleagues, and kindred spirits, and who took over the development of his insights in changing times. Edman, noting that we live at a brutal moment of modern history, recalls Dewey's reaction to the despair that comes when old landmarks are gone and the seas are rough: "It is a wonderful era, he suggested, to be young and to be a philosopher."

ABRAHAM EDEL is a member of the Department of Philosophy at the City College of New York and author of "The Theory and Practice of Philosophy" and of "Ethical Judgment: The Use of Science in Ethics."

Next Week

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Charles the King

THE KING'S PEACE, 1637-1641. By C. V. Wedgwood. The Macmillan Company. $5.50.

By Donald A. Roberts

THIS VOLUME, the first of a projected three which will have the general title "The Great Rebellion," dramatically brings to life the four fateful years when Britain moved relentlessly from peace, social and literary brilliance, and prosperity to civil strife, angry disputation, and disintegration. The first fruits of the King's blundering policies and of his absolute rule, many of them very bitter fruits for church and monarchy, were harvested by laborers whose vigor and determination Charles could not understand.

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MANY other difficulties arose from the less fortunate aspects of the King's character. His belief that the king was the law, his stubbornness, his uxoriousness, his reckless loyalty to favorite ministers, his profound confidence in his own opinions, his euphoria, his inability to understand the temper of those who disagreed with him, all these led to schemes and deeds that were the forerunners of invitable doom.

Though the "canonization" of Charles be accepted with great reserve it is impossible to doubt his

DONALD A. ROBERTS is associate professor of English at the City College, New York.

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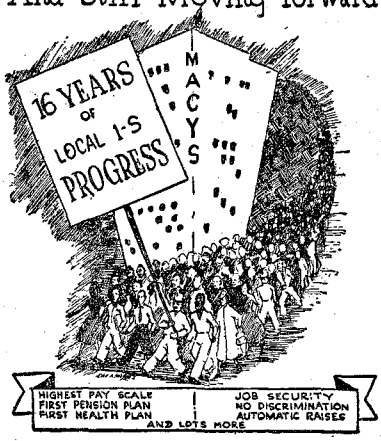

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profound devotion to the Church of England or that to a large degree he gave his life for its life. But he was incapable of recognizing the deep-seated Protestantism of his own people or the Scots; it was a spiritual blind spot. However distant the Established Church actually stood from the Church of Rome, the average citizen was confused by ritual and vestments and even more puzzled by the King's attitudes and actions. He favored Roman Catholic Spain over Protestant Holland, he allowed the Protestant cause of his sister and her sons in the Palatinate to founder, he permitted his queen to receive Papal emissaries and to hear the Mass in her private chapel, and, most serious of all, he persisted in his attempt to force episcopacy and the Book of Common Prayer upon his Presbyterian Scottish subjects.

Charles withdrew Strafford from Ireland in order to strengthen the regime in England, but he failed to appoint a suitable substitute with the result that political, economic, and religious chaos engulfed that unhappy land. He managed the Scottish war most ineptly and compounded his failure by stupid and dishonest negotiations. He bungled his cause in the Short Parliament of 1640. The result was that when the Parliament, destined to be called Long, assembled in firm and angry mood the King's fortunes were ebbing fast. The opening of that Parliament was the beginning of the end for Charles and for the absolution he cherished.

Miss Wedgwood tells the fascinating story of the eve of the British civil war with remarkable lucidity. The web of events is adroitly woven; the narrative moves with a brisk but measured pace; the ideas that swirled about the nation and the capital are clearly and objectively analyzed. The King emerges in full character, but so do a score or more of the principal figures of the time, Strafford, Laud, Pym, Falkland, Vane, Argyll, Montrose, to mention but a few. The deft incisive character sketches are gems of historical writing. The author dedicates her book to George Macaulay Trevelyan. It is fitting that her name should be linked with those of two such great writers of history as Macaulay and Trevelyan. She has a distinction of style akin to theirs, and she is a historian of their stature.

Books in Brief

Terror and Myth

THE WALKER AND OTHER STORIES. By Patrick O'Brian. Harcourt, Brace and Company. $3.50.

Patrick O'Brian's violence-ridden short stories are haunting lyrics of fiction. Ranging from the Welsh country of England to Ireland and France, O'Brian evokes space and force of landscape—mountain, bog, or dark wood. Here are no stories with "a feeling for nature," but rather a constant use of natural setting to create moods of quiet terror or laughing myth.

Two things fascinate O'Brian: light and dark, and hunting. Men hunt animals and each other, and the landscape itself becomes a presence that crushes or lifts up without reason. O'Brian's hunts, however, are a far cry from the explosive postures of Hemingway; the forward thrust of his action is caught and held in long, echoing rhythmic images. There is greater awareness of all that makes up the flesh of a scene—color of sky, movements of trees, sounds of earth.

Perhaps the most distinctive quality of O'Brian's prose is its "sprung rhythm." There are passages that leap, hesitate, and plunge for effects like those achieved in poetry by Hopkins. For example: "She fell back on the doorway. He was there and upon her. Slam, slammed the door on him, crouching at the handle: but the key would not, would not turn, and as the door opened the desolate howl of the dog came up the staircase."

When Socialism Prospered

THE SOCIALIST PARTY OF AMERICA. A History. By David A. Shannon. Macmillan. $4.50.

Dr. Shannon, a professor of history at Teachers College, Columbia University, succinctly traces the rise and collapse of the Socialist Party from its foundation in 1901 to the

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present. Aware that the Party was essentially a federation of autonomous state and local parties which differed greatly from one another, he properly begins with a concise, region-by-region analysis. He then discusses the various social groups and philosophies which mattered in the Party before World War I.

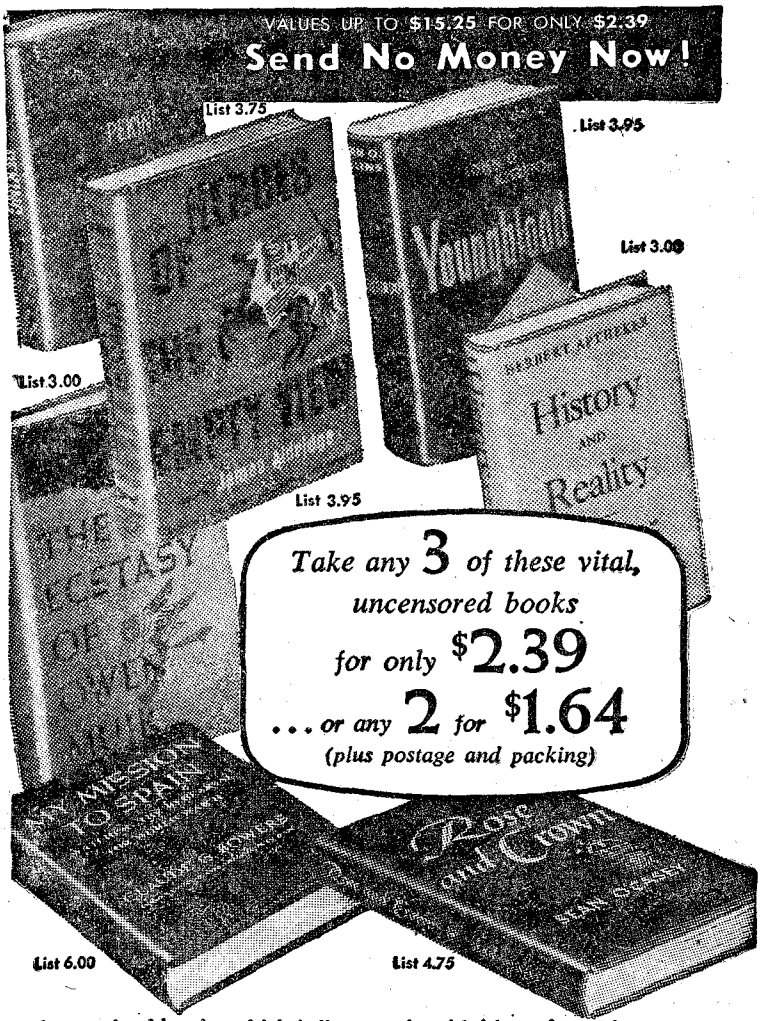
After this promising beginning, Dr. Shannon, in common with other historians of American socialism, sifts his focus to a narrow chronological account of socialism's electoral fortunes and its internecine warfare. This focus badly distorts the picture. It results in almost total neglect of what Socialists in particular towns and industries did to build industrial unions. It means that Dr. Shannon, in discussing the 1930's, talks about the presidential campaigns of Norman Thomas rather than about the Reuther brothers, the C. I. O., and the National Unemployed League.

In brief, Dr. Shannon, having shown that the national office of the Socialist Party was relatively unimportant and had little power, proceeds to write a history of the national office. The consequences of this emphasis are most apparent when the author finally comes to analyze the collapse and death of the Socialist Party. His discussion here is quite perceptive and, I think, basically sound. But it bears little relation to the rest of the book, and probably even Dr. Shannon would admit that he has not produced the evidence to sustain his interpretation.

The Facts About Shay

A LITTLE REBELLION. By Marion L. Starkey. Alfred A. Knopf. $4.

Thorough research in an astonishing range of sources enables Miss Starkey to recount the daily activities of all the leading participants in Shay's Rebellion from 1786 to 1788. This research job is now done, once and for all. But the meaning and impact of the facts is much less clear in Miss Starkey's telling. She offers almost no insight into the concrete grievances which prompted thousands of Massachusetts farmers to take up arms against their state government. Not knowing the origin of the affair, we can scarcely understand its course and outcome.



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Records

B. H. Haggin

EPIC SC-6010 offers another new recording of "Don Giovanni," with George London, Dermota, Zadek, Jurinac, Sciutti, and the Vienna Symphony and Kammerchor under Moralt. Zadek exhibits the right voice and style for Donna Anna, but with a tremolo that flaws her excellent performance though it isn't enough to be unpleasant; and even with this flaw I find hers a more effective Donna Anna than Danco's in the new London recording. And with the beautiful voices of George London and Jurinac the Epic performance is on the whole the better sung of the two. But the London version has the Vienna State Opera Orchestra's refinements of tone and execution, and Krips's more incisive treatment of the music. As for reproduction, whereas London gives us voices and orchestra together, Epic gives us voices in front, orchestra in back but clearly audible; and the Epic sound doesn't require the cutting down of range that the London does to be agreeable.

Vanguard 470 offers a new performance of Haydn's fine "Lord Nelson Mass," with Stich-Randall, Hoengen, Dermota, Frederick Guthrie, the Vienna State Opera Orchestra, and the Akademie Kammerchor, conducted by Rossi. The soloists are not superior to those of the old Haydn Society recording, but the orchestra is; and even more striking is the difference in the conducting—the fact that in the shaping of the Vanguard performance one hears the operation of a professional, which one doesn't hear in the other. In addition to which the new performance is reproduced with greater beauty of sound; but the record, unlike previous Vanguard records, produces noises like those from scratches.

This is true also of the records of Vanguard 471/2, which offer a new performance of Haydn's "Creation," with Stich-Randall, Felbermayer, Dermota, Guthrie, Schoeffler, and the chorus and orchestra of the Vienna State Opera, conducted by Woeldike. This time the soloists are better than those of the old Haydn Society recording, except for Guthrie whose bass hasn't the weight and sonority of Hann's; but it is the old performance that exhibits the striking superiority in conducting. Woeldike is thoroughly competent, and his performance well-paced and effective; but though the old performance is dimly reproduced one can hear the Vienna State Opera Orchestra play under Clemens Krauss with refinements and subtleties of execution and phrasing, and the introduction given a clear and continuous outline, that one doesn't hear in the new performance.

Bach Guild 551 offers Tallis's "Lamentations of Jeremiah" and five of his hymns, in which the vocal polyphony is beautiful but, after a time, too unvaryingly so—to my ears at any rate. They are sung well by the Deller Consort of five and six voices.

Angel 35257 offers three pieces by Victoria that are lovely, though without the dark intensity that is characteristic and moving in other pieces of his, some fine sixteenth-century vocal polyphony by other Spanish composers, and a number of traditional pieces, sung superbly by the Capilla Clasica Polifonica of Barcelona under Ribo.

The Vivaldi "Gloria" and Concerto "Per la Solenita di San Lorenzo" on Columbia RL-6632 are minor pieces, performed well by soloists, chorus, and chamber orchestra of the Scuola di Arzignano under Pellizzari.

The performance of Schubert's "Winterreise" on Angel 3521 is the finest I have heard on LP records. Hotter sings with beauty of voice and with flawless art in expressive phrasing; Moore supports the singing always with sensitiveness and occasionally with the projective force the piano parts should have at all times.

Haskil's playing of the solo part of Mozart's Piano Concerto K.271 with the Vienna Symphony under Sacher, on Epic LC-3162, is so lacking in incisiveness and force as to be unsatisfying both in the high-spirited opening movement and the poignant Andantino; and the Casals Festival performance with Hess remains the one to acquire.

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Unsatisfying for the same reason is Haskil's playing of the Adagio movement of Mozart's Concerto K.488 with the same orchestra and conductor, on Epic LC-3163; but her playing in the other movements, and in K.466 with the same orchestra under Baumgartner, is more adequate. The recorded sound of K.488 is agreeable; that of K.466 unpleasantly sharp, requiring cutting down of range. I would recommend Gieseking's performance of the first, Schnabel's of the second.

A superb performance of Prokofiev's Violin Concerto No. 1 by David Oistrakh and the London Symphony under von Matacic is reproduced beautifully on Angel 35243. Bruch's G minor is on the reverse side.

Two major works of Bloch, the early "Schelomo" and the later and finer "Voice in the Wilderness" for cello and orchestra, each with impressive writing in the brooding slow sections, are played well on London LL-1232 by Nelsova and the London Philharmonic under Ansermet. The recorded sound is harsh and sharp with full-range reproduction, agreeable with the range cut down to 10,000 cycles.

Bach's Brandenburg Concertos are performed well by Sacher and the Basle Chamber Orchestra on Epic SC-6008; but details requiring mention are the trumpet-playing in No. 2 that is accurate but not beautiful in tone, the harpsichord-playing that is too heavy in No. 4 and stolid in No. 5, and the sound that is harsh and sharp in the second movement of No. 3.

Films

Robert Hatch

WHEN YOU GO to "Diabolique" at the Fine Arts in New York you are handed a "contract" of secrecy; a similar appeal is flashed on the screen, and newspaper ads carry the headline, "Don't Reveal the Ending!" An exhibitor who takes such steps to protect the secret of his picture presumably knows that he has little but the secret to sell. Nevertheless, there is a certain fun to pitting yourself against a well-fabricated mystification, and the materials of "Diabolique" are first-rate. It is well cast, plausibly directed, photographed with an excellent appreciation of the mood induced by damp stone and grey sky. It uses the familiar melodramatic screen devices—creaking doors, gloved hands, a blurred face at the window, a hamper about to burst and expose its hideous contents—but it revives them with style. There are no logical flaws in the laying of its outragous plot.

What turns me against "Diabolique" is my dislike of Henri-Georges Clouzot, who wrote and directed it. Clouzot is a man of intelligence and skill who shows himself to be excited by only two sensations—cruelty and disgust. His appeal is as degenerate as the horror comics, and more offensive because it is more cultivated. "Le Corbeau," which he made under the Vichy regime, was a study in all-pervasive venom, and was used effectively by Goebbels to revile the French. "The Wages of Fear" licked its lips over every variety of pain, and "Diabolique" is abominably cruel. I cannot discuss the central cruelty without breaking the reviewer's bargain, but there is sufficient peripheral sadism for my purpose. Take the scene in which a sick woman is forced by her husband to chew and swallow a meal of tainted fish under the eyes of some fifty school boys. Or the scene in which a drugged man—again the husband—half awakens when he is flung into a bath tub and feebly paddles with his hands as his head is thrust under water. These episodes are disgusting and they are infuriating.

The pain and the disgust are not in themselves what anger me, but the fact that they are Clouzot's amusements. Degradation is the fifth horseman of our age and few artists can ignore him. Kafka's "The Metamorphosis" is more horrifying and nauseating than anything Clouzot can do, but it is also an outcry of compassion and concern. "Diabolique" is a giggle from Auschwitz.

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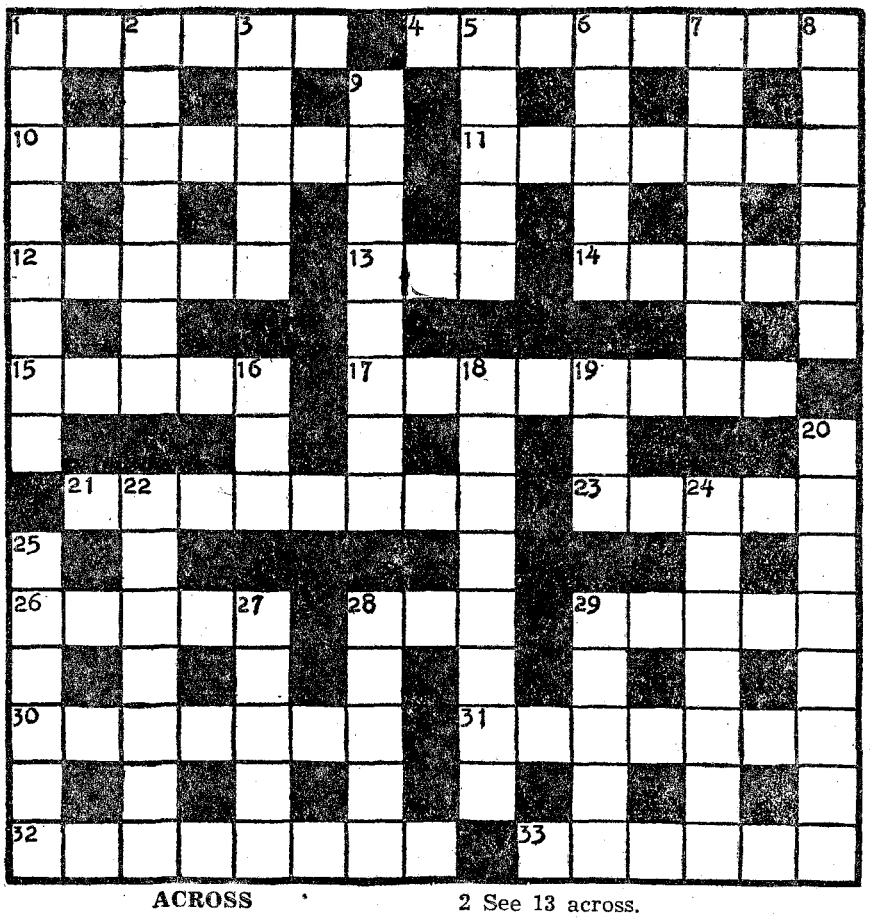
Crossword Puzzle No. 649

BY FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS

1 Block the rower's seat. (6)
4 Entertainers who can hold their liquor. (8)
10 Aim in the wrong direction? It's about like a wing, and might lay you low. (7)
11 A deed is accomplished just south of 24. (4,3)
12 Awkard roles for anything but a winner. (5)
13, 2 and 24 down Were they biblical 4? (3,5,2,7)
14 Rush an excessive quantity. (5)
15 Go through the arms? (5)
17 After-dinner mints? (Partcularly British, although the spelling is American!) (9)
21 One who gives title, like a Roman of distinction? (8)
23 and 8 down The going rate for oak leaves? (The third and sixth are lowered, if one prefers 29 down.) (5,6)
26 6, when decapitated, are likely to be falling down. (5)
28 See 6 down.
29 This man is probably good with a 15. (5)
30 Silversides of California, an outgrowth of the iron gun. (7)
31 The higher such things go, the smaller they get. (7)
32 Tear asunder certain things of value. (8)
33 Sits and ponders? (6)

DOWN

1 Tramples an order in an order, perhaps. (7)
2 See 13 across.
3 Not so dense! (5)
5 Inappropriate, like bills after you've paid them? (5)
6 and 28 across Relatively ursine, but the sound certainly isn't covered! (8)
7 Enthrall. (7)
8 See 23 across.
9 When less than whole, is an old halberd, as well as a devoted adherent. (8)
16 High priest of Belial. (3)
18 Speedwell, portrayed in a cover of sorts. (8)
19 Scratch up the butter? (3)
20 Certainly doesn't make a peaceful gesture! (8)
22 There's a point to this, plus ice. (7)
24 See 13 across.
25 Loud, yet on the conservative side. (6)
27 See 29 down.
28 Diamond expert with a large head of cattle. (5)
29 and 27 down Youth's clothing, half red, have black? (5,5)

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE NO. 648

ACROSS: 1 BAPTISMAL; 9 BIGOT; 11 SCAPEGOAT; 12 APSIS; 13 BELTS; 15 DUPLICATE; 18 LADYBIRDS; 19 GRIPS; 22 CAPACIOUS; 25 OLD MASTER; 26 MOIRA; 27 SPRIT; 28 DISPLAYED. DOWN: 1,3, and 6 across BABES IN THE WOODS; 1 and 10 across BABES IN TOYLAND; 2 PIGTAILED; 4 and 20 MAIL-ORDER HOUSE; 5 and 24 LET IT STAND; 6 WAYFARING; 7OPALS; 8 SIDESTEPS; 13 BILLHOOKS; 14 SUBTENANT; 16 PASSPORT; 17 ADIPOSITY; 21 UNDER; 22 CITED; 23 CAMEL.

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MEETING

BILL OF RIGHTS WEEK CELEBRATION with Barrows Dunham, author, and George D. Collins, Jr., veteran legislator, Friday, December 16, 8:30 P.M., California Hall, 625 Polk, San Francisco. Donation $1. Veterans Civil Liberties Committee.

SOCIAL

Dec. 16, 8:30
YORKVILLE COMPASS FORUM
Presents
Outstanding Program of Authentic AFRICAN & PRIMITIVE DANCES
featuring
CURTIS JAMES — Former Partner of Pearl Primus, Foremost Exponent of African Dance in America
ELIA & MICHELLE CLARK — Sensational Hits from Former B'way Show "House of Flowers"
Yorkville Temple, 157 E. 86th St., N.Y.C.
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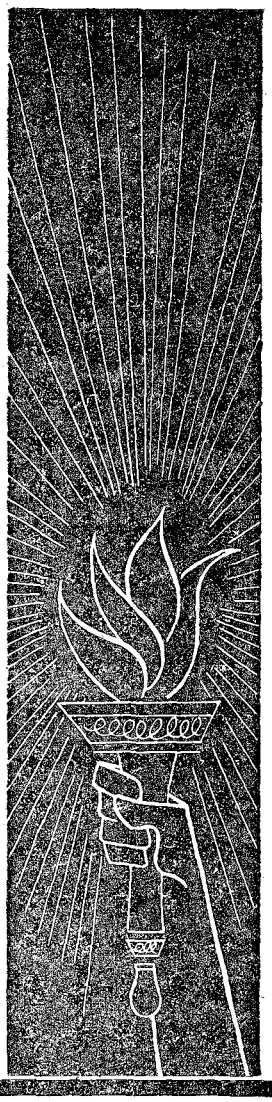

8 MILLION? 20 MILLION? YOU TOO?

Chief Justice Warren estimates* that "more than 8 million Americans must undergo" security procedures. Fortune Magazine—where Big Business speaks its piece—says it "may be as high as 20 million."

Every trade unionist knows that "security procedure" is only Front Office talk for blacklists, informers, guilt-by-association! It adds up to firing, lifetime disgrace and unemployment, injunction and the ultimate destruction of Labor's organizations and rights.

On the record, the National Association of Manufacturers and the U. S. Chamber of Commerce spawned the "security program." It's the biggest "give-away" program of all; the thief of Labor's security, and of Labor's Constitutional guarantees.

December fifteenth is Bill of Rights Day; a fitting time for the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee to hail the merger of the A. F. of L.-C. I. O. As we wish the greatest success to this union of two great bodies of Labor, we urge on every trade union leader--and on every worker—the recognition of Labor's most urgent task.

To reclaim government for the people, means to reclaim the Bill of Rights for Labor. No American is free, if Labor is shackled. No American has a future, if Big Business destroys Labor's independence today.

*** Fortune Magazine, Nov. 1955**

3,000,000 *members of the armed forces*

2,400,000 government employees

3,000,000 employees of defense contractors

NEW YORK

Speaker:
Owen Lattimore

Chairman:
Harvey O'Connor

Hotel Capitol
Eighth Avenue at 51st Street
7 p.m. $7.50

NEWARK

Speakers:
Prof. John Ciardi
Ring Lardner, Jr.
Victor Rabinowitz

Chairman:
Prof. Broadus Mitchell

Essex House
1050 Broad Street
7 p.m. $3.75

PHILADELPHIA

Speaker:
Carey McWilliams

Chairman:
Prof. Derk Bodde

Y.M.H.A.—Broad and Pine Sts.
8:30 p.m. $1.50

Join Us In Celebrating BILL OF RIGHTS DAY

THURSDAY, DECEMBER 15, 1955

HARVEY O'CONNOR, Chairman
Emergency Civil Liberties Committee,
421 Seventh Ave., New York 1, N. Y.

Please reserve_____ places for me at_____

I can't attend your celebration but wish you success._____

I enclose $_____

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